

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



London :

MDCCCLXXXI.

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OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

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1881.

London :
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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LONDON :
T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

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P R E F A C E.

THE year 1881, now just closed, has been fruitful in archæological discoveries and researches in England; and the *British Archaeological Association*—justly claiming to be one of the main channels in which the results of these interesting proceedings are conveyed to the world—has recorded in the following pages of its THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL VOLUME the most important successes which have been achieved by the votaries of a science that yields to none as to its powers of fascination. We have searched the underground houses of prehistoric peoples; the sepulchres and graves of Phœnicians and Egyptians, Celts and Danes; the cities and cemeteries of the dead, and the buried villas of the Romans; we have examined ecclesiastical and monastic Edifices, Itineraries and Fortifications, Coins and Documents, and the whole paraphernalia of a past that is gradually becoming more and more remote, as we sweep onward in our turn through the boundless track of a time which is infinite, leaving behind us the unconsidered trifles of our own short period to become precious hereafter in the eyes of our successors,—the chief objects of attraction to future archæologists, with their value enhanced a thousand-fold. When we seriously consider the fact that it is not many days since a single book, worth but

a few shillings some three hundred years ago, fetched nearly two thousand pounds in a public sale, it is not difficult to divine in what the essence and spirit of archæology consist. Archaeology enshrouds and enshrines the common-place details of an ancestral life in a halo of mysterious importance, through which we—or, at least, some of us—are enabled after more or less tuition to behold, more or less darkly, the steps which the gradual emollition of human surroundings has taken, from the rudest, earliest, and most untutored phases of life down to the elegant refinements of a civilisation, but little, if at all, inferior to those with which we are now surrounded. It is true that, after all, the sum of the contents of our *Journal* is insignificant when we consider the boundless fields from which we might draw our specimens, and out of which we might extract material for reflection and comparison; but it must be borne in mind that the ranks of archæological labour are, for the most part, filled by pioneers who more willingly impart the result of their work, than the veterans who are less easily moved to put on lasting record the conclusions which they have deduced from their investigations. Nevertheless, there is no cause for disparagement; it is our duty to store up notices of facts, and to ventilate theories, trusting that in time the lessons and proofs which they convey will be properly admitted by those who, without such data, would be unable to make any satisfactory progress in the art, either for themselves, or for the world.

W. DE G. B.

31 Dec. 1881.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight

o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers contributed to and accepted by the Association will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1880-81 are as follow:—1880, Nov. 17, Dec. 1. 1881, January 5, 19; Feb. 2, 16; March 2, 16; April 6, 20; May 4 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 p.m.), 18; June 1.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen³ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen⁴ other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday⁵ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

⁴ Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council: and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the 5th Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846	GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847	WARWICK . . . }	
1848	WORCESTER . . . }	
1849	CHESTER . . . }	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857	NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY
1859	NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON
1860	SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862	LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863	LEEDS . . .	THE LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L.
1864	IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866	HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867	LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, Bt.
1868	CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869	ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870	HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871	WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873	SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874	BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875	EYESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877	LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878	WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.
1879	YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880	DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1880-81.

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL NELSON.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARMARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOURGHTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A.
J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,
Streatham Hill, S.W.

Hon. Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., British Museum, W.C.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Piccadilly, W.
(With a seat at the Council.)

Draughtsman.

Paleographer.

E. M. THOMPSON.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE
THOMAS BLASHILL
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON
WILLIAM HENRY COPE
T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
R. NORMAN-FISHER, M.A., F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, F.S.A.
J. T. MOULD
GEO. PATRICK
J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, *Somerset Herald*
J. WHITMORE
DR. T. J. WOODHOUSE.

Auditors.

R. E. WAY

W. MYERS, F.S.A.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1881.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. denotes Life-Members.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL NELSON, PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1865 | ARMSTRONG, SIR WILLIAM, Newcastle-on-Tyne |
| 1876 | Ace, Rev. D., D.D., Laughton Rectory, near Gainsborough |
| 1854 | Adams, George G., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W. |
| L. 1850 | Ade, George, 161 Westbourne Terrace, W. |
| 1857 | Adlam, Wm., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol |
| L. 1871 | Aldam, William, Frickley Hall, Doncaster |
| L. 1851 | Alger, John |
| 1878 | Allen, J. Romilly, A.I.C.E., 23 East Maitland Street, Edinburgh |
| L. 1857 | Allen, W. E. |
| L. 1874 | Ames, Reginald, M.A., 2 Albany Terrace, Regent's Park |
| L. 1857 | Anherst, W. A. T., M.P., Diddington Park, Brandon, Norfolk |
| 1869 | Andrews, Charles, Farnham, Surrey |
| 1877 | Ashby, Thomas, Staines, Middlesex |
| 1876 | Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. |
| L. 1857 | BATEMAN, Lord, Carlton Club |
| | BAKER, REV. PREB. SIR TALBOT R. B., Bart., Ranston, Blandford |
| 1880 | BOILEAU, SIR FRANCIS G. M., Bart., Ketteringham Park, Wy-
mondham |
| L. 1860 | BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., <i>Vice-President</i> ,* Down-
ton Hall, Ludlow |
| L. 1860 | BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall,
Wigan |
| 1864 | BROKE-MIDDLETON, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE, Bart., C.B.,
Shrubland Park, Ipswich |
| L. 1874 | BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield |
| L. 1878 | Babington, C. C., M.A., F.S.A., 5 Brookside, Cambridge |
| 1874 | Bain, J. (for the Public Library of Victoria), 1 Haymarket,
London |

- 1877 Barrett, Henry, 12 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
 1879 Barton, Rev. H. C. M., M.A., Andover
 1879 Burton, Thomas, Castle House, Lancaster
 1877 Bate, Charles Jaimes, Thorncliffe, Malvern
 1. 1876 Baly, Robert, Torr Grove, Plymouth
 1880 Bedell, Rev. A. J., Vine House, Hampton Court
 1865 Belk, Thomas, Hartlepool
 1879 Bensly, W. L., LL.D., Norwich
 1. 1859 Benyon, Richard, M.P., 17 Grosvenor Square, W.
 1. 1857 Berrey, George, The Park, Nottingham
 1879 Beynon, the Rev. F. W., Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham
 1877 Bickley, Francis B., British Museum, W.C.
 1879 Birch, Rev. C. G. R., Brancaster Rectory, King's Lynn
 1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, British Museum, and 3 Grove Road, Dartmouth Park, N.W.
 1877 Black, W. G., 1 Alfred Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow
 1878 Blair, R., South Shields
 1852 Blane, Rev. Henry, M.A., Folkton Rectory, Ganton, York
 1. 1865 Blane, Thomas Law, 25 Dover Street, W.
 1861 Blashill, Thomas, 10 Old Jewry Chambers, E.C.
 1876 Bloxam, Matthew H., F.S.A., Rugby
 1865 Bly, J. H., Vauxhall, Great Yarmouth
 1870 Bonnor, George, F.S.A., 42 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.
 1876 Borlase, William Copeland, M.P., M.A., F.S.A., Laregan, Penzance
 1879 Boucher, Emanuel, 12 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
 1876 Bowyer, Rev. F. W. Atkins, M.A., Macaulay's Road, Clapham Common
 1869 Boyson, Ambrose P., East Hill, Wandsworth
 1877 Bradney, Joseph Alfred, Rockfield House, Monmouth
 1. 1874 Bragge, William, F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Hampstead Road, Birmingham
 1872 Braid, Chas. (care of G. E. Turner, 49 High Street, Marylebone)
 1874 Bramble, Colonel James R., Sutherland House, Clifton, Bristol
 1880 Brangwyn, W. C.
 1875 Branson, C. A., Page Hall, Sheffield
 1880 Bravender, Thos. B., The Firs, Cirencester
 1877 Breese, Edw., F.S.A., Morva Lodge, Portmadoc, North Wales
 1853 Brent, Cecil, F.S.A., 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
 1877 Brent, John, F.S.A., Canterbury
 1875 Brent, Francis, 19 Clarendon Place, Plymouth
 1. 1875 Brinton, John, M.P., Moorhouse, Stourport
 1861 Brock, E. P. Loftus, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 19 Montague Place, Russell Square
 1. 1874 Brooke, Thomas, F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield
 1. 1871 Brown, A. M., 269 Camden Road, N.
 1878 Brint, E., Havelock Place, Hanley, Staffordshire
 1856 Brushfield, T. N., M.D., Asylum, Brookwood, Woking, Surrey
 1879 Bulwer, Lieut. Colonel Lytton, Quebec House, East Dereham
 1880 Bulwer, J. R., Q.C., 11 King's Bench Walk, E.C.
 1862 Bunbury, H. M., Marlston House, Newbury
 1876 Burgess, Rev. Dr. J. Hart, Rectory, Devizes

- 1844 Burgess, Alfred, F.S.A., 8 Victoria Road, Worthing
 1879 Burroughs, T. Proctor, The Priory, Great Yarmouth
 1876 Burgess, J. Tom, F.S.A., Worcester
 1868 Burgess, William J., Shenfield House, Brentwood, Essex
 L. 1880 Butcher, W. H., Devizes

 1864 CLEVELAND, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., *Vice-President*,*
 Raby Castle
 L. 1858 CARNARVON, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* High-
 clere, Hants.
 L. 1853 CREWE, SIR JOHN HARPER, Bart., Calke Abbey, Derbyshire
 1868 CAREY, SIR P. STAFFORD, Candia, Guernsey
 1876 COWPER, HON. H. F., M.P., 4 St. James' Square, S.W.
 1861 Cam, William, Exeter
 1853 Cape, George A., Utrecht House, Abbeywood, Kent
 1864 Carmichael, C. H. E., M.A., F.R.S.L., M.A.I., F.L.A.S., New
 University Club, St. James' Street ; 46A, Coleshill Street,
 S.W.
 1878 Catling, Captain R. C., Needham Hall, Wisbech
 1855 Chapman, Thomas, 37 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
 1879 Chasemore, Archibald, 8 Lower Park Fields, Putney
 1876 Clagett, Mrs. Horatio, 17 Lowndes Street, S.W.
 1853 Clark, J. R., The Library, Hull
 1879 Clemence, John L., Lowestoft
 1859 Cockeram, William, 50 South Street, Dorchester
 L. 1878 Cocks, Reginald Thistlethwayte, 43 Charing Cross, S.W.
 1869 Cokayne, Andreas Edward, Congleton, Cheshire
 L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edward, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*, Heralds'
 College, Doctors' Commons, E.C.
 1866 Cole, T. H., 1 Linton Terrace, Hastings
 L. 1877 Coleman, F. S., Trevanger, Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood,
 S.E.
 L. 1847 Colfox, Thomas, Bridport
 1875 Collier, Rev. C., F.S.A., Andover
 1864 Collins, William, M.D., 1 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park
 1879 Colman, J. J., M.P., Carrow House, Norwich
 1876 Compton, C. H., 13 The Chase, Clapham Common, S.W.
 1875 Cooke, James H., F.S.A., Berkeley, Gloucestershire
 1877 Cooper, Basil Henry, B.A., Malvern Lodge, Dulwich Grove, East
 Dulwich, S.E.
 1863 Cope, Arthur, 4 Fairfax Road, Finchley New Road, N.W.
 1863 Cope, William Henry, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park
 1878 Corry, Rev. W. Corry de B., Bengeworth, Evesham
 L. 1869 Cosens, Fred. W., 27 Queen's Gate, S.W.
 L. 1862 Cotton, Henry Perry, Quex Park, Margate
 1847 Coulthart, J. Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne
 1875 Cox, J. C., The Close, Lichfield
 1876 Cramer, F. L., 36 Sutherland Place, Westbourne Park, W.
 1861 Cresswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,
 North Repps, Norfolk
 1871 Crickmay, G. R., St. Thomas Street, Weymouth
 1867 Croker, T. F. Dillon, F.S.A., 9 Pelham Place, Brompton

- 1863 Crossley, James, F.S.A.
 L. 1858 Culley, Frederick W. H., Bradestone, Blofield, Norwich
 1844 Cuming, H. Syer, F.S.A. Scot., *Vice-President*, 63 Kennington
 Park Road, S.E.
 1872 Curteis, Rev. Thomas S., Sevenoaks, Kent
- L. 1872 DARTMOUTH, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Pats-
 hull, Wolverhampton
 1853 DUCIE, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, F.R.S., 16 Portman Square ;
 Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucester ; and Sarsden, Chip-
 ping Norton, Oxon.
 1858 DILLON, LADY, The Vicarage, Goole, Yorkshire
 1880 D'Arey, Martin V., 1 Elm Court, Temple, E.C.
 L. 1873 Davis, J. E., 5 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
 1877 Davis, Rev. James, Moor Court, Kington, Herefordshire
 1878 Dawson, Edward B., LL.B., Lunecliffe, Lancaster
 1872 Day, Robert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Rock View, Montenotte, Cork
 L. 1874 Derham, Walter, M.A., LL.M., Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-
 Trym
 1871 Digby, G. Wingfield, Sherborne Castle, Dorset
 1879 Diver, Charles, Ormesby, Great Yarmouth
 1877 Dobson, Frederick, Castle Grove, Nottingham
 1878 Douglas-Lithgow, Dr. R. A., F.R.S.L., Wisbech
 1875 Dunning, S., 27 Parliament Street, S.W.
 1847 Durdan, Henry, Blandford, Dorset
 1875 Dymond, C. W., C.E., F.S.A., Penallt, Weston-super-Mare
- 1845 EFFINGHAM, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*, Tees-
 more, Bicester, and 57 Eaton Place
 1867 Edmonds, James, 67 Baker Street, Portman Square
 1875 Edwards, G. W., 2 Sea Wall Villa, Sneyd Park, Bristol
 1871 Ellery, R. G., Conservative Club, S.W.
 1878 Emery, Ven. Archdeacon, The College, Ely
 1875 Emmet, Major, 51 Finchley Road, N.W.
 1855 Evans, John, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead
- L. 1863 FORSTER, RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EDWARD, M.P., Burley, near
 Otley
 1854 Falconer, Thomas, Usk
 1878 Falder, W. Waring, Downing College, Cambridge
 L. 1879 Ferguson, Richard S., Lowther Street, Carlisle
 L. 1864 Ferguson, Robert, M.P., Morton, Carlisle
 1864 Finch, Rev. Thomas, B.A., Morpeth
 1872 Finch, Rev. T. R.
 L. 1880 Fisher, S. T., The Grove, Streatham
 L. 1873 Fisher, W., Norton Grange, Sheffield
 1857 Fitch, Robert, F.S.A., Norwich
 1880 Floyer, Frederick A., 7 River Terrace, Putney
 1875 Franks, Augustus W., M.A., F.R.S., *Director of the Society of*
Antiquaries, British Museum, W.C.
 L. 1852 Fraser, Patrick Allen, Hospital Field, Arbroath, N.B.
 1877 Fretton, W. G., F.S.A., 88 Little Park Street, Coventry

- 1880 Fryer, Alfred C., Elnahirst, near Wilmslow, Cheshire
- L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
 1878 Gane, Charles, late Mayor of Wisbech
 1876 Gardner, J. E., 453 West Strand ; Park House, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
 1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, Ingram Street, Glasgow
 1872 Glover, F. K., The Chestnuts, Beekenham
 1847 Godwin, G., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 6 Cromwell Place, South Kensington
 1865 Gow, Mrs. George, care of Mrs. Waite, 3 Gordon Place, W.C.
 L. 1860 Greenhalgh, Thomas, Thorneydike, Sharples, near Bolton
 1863 Greenshields, J. B., Kerse, Lesmahago, Lanarkshire
 1866 Grover, J. W., C.E., F.S.A., 9 Victoria Chambers, Victoria St., S.W.
 1876 Grueber, Herbert Appold, British Museum, W.C.
 L. 1857 Gurney, John Henry, Northrepps Hall, Norwich
- 1878 HARDWICKE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Wimpole Hall, Royston
 1877 HERTFORD, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, *Vice-President*,* 14 Connaught Place, W.
 1847 HOUGHTON, LORD, M.A., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Fryston Hall, Ferrybridge, Yorkshire
 1858 Hammond, Charles E., Newmarket
 1852 Hannah, Robert, Craven House, Queen's Elm, Brompton
 1864 Harker, John, M.D., King Street, Lancaster
 L. 1861 Harpley, Matthew, Royal Horse Guards Blue ; Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly
 1880 Hastings, Rev. Frederick, Inglewood, Weston-super-Mare
 1844 Hawkins, George, 28 City Road, E.C.
 1872 Hellier, Major T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care of A. Laurie, Esq., 70 Jermyn Street, S.W.)
 1877 Henderson, William, Ashford Court, Ludlow, Salop
 1870 Henfrey, Henry W., Widmore Cottage, Bromley, Kent
 L. 1844 Heywood, James, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,* 26 Palace Gardens, Kensington
 1862 Heywood, Samuel, 17 Stanhope Street, Hampstead Road
 1858 Hibbert, Frederick D.
 1872 Hicklin, B., Holly House, Dorking, Surrey
 1879 Hill, Captain, 53 Marine Parade, Brighton
 1878 Hill, W. Neave, 22 Albert Road, Regent's Park
 1866 Hills, Capt. Graham H., R.N., 4 Bentley Road, Prince's Park, Liverpool
 1858 Hills, Gordon M., 17 Redcliffe Gardens, Brompton
 1870 Hodgson, Rev. J. F., Wilton-le-Weir, Darlington
 1880 Hodgson, Philip Fancourt, 213 Fortress Road, N.W.
 1869 Holford, R. S., Westonbirt, Tetbury, Gloucestershire
 1880 Hooppell, Rev. R. E., M.A., LL.D., Byers Green Rectory, Bishop's Auckland
 1872 Hornan-Fisher, R., F.S.A., 13 Durham Terrace, Westbourne Park, W.

- 1870 Horner, W. S., 7 Aldgate
 L. 1863 Horsfall, Richard, Waterhouse Street, Halifax
 1880 Houghton, Mrs., Woodfield, Streatham
 1856 Hovendon, Thomas Henry, 181 Bishopsgate Street Without
 L. 1867 Howard, John M., Q.C., 6 Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
 1876 Howlett, Richard, 2 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
 L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., 96 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol
 1878 Hughes, H. R., Kinnel Park, Abergelle, North Wales
 L. 1860 Hughes, James, 328 Camden Road, N.
 L. 1859 Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A., 1 Grove Terrace, Chester
 L. 1866 Hunter, Edward, The Glebe, Lee, Blackheath
 1874 Hunter, Michael, Greystones, near Sheffield
 1876 Huyshe, Wentworth, 11 West Alfred Place, North Kensington
 1880 Hyde, Mrs. Moore, 77 Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington

 1863 Irvine, J. T., The Close, Lichfield

 L. 1858 JARVIS, SIR LEWIS WINEOPP, Middleton Towers, near King's
 Lynn
 L. 1856 Jackson, Rev. J. R., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., The Vicarage,
 Moulton, Lincolnshire
 L. 1859 Jackson, Rev. Wm., M.A., F.S.A., Pen-Wartha, Weston-super-
 Mare, and 7 Park Villas, Oxford
 1879 Jarvis, John W., Avon House, Manor Road, Holloway
 1877 Jeayes, J. H., British Museum, W.C.
 1877 John, Richard, 21 Clondesley Street, Islington, N.
 1876 Jenner, Henry, British Museum, W.C.
 1879 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 63 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square
 1861 Jennings, Mrs., East Park Terrace, Southampton
 L. 1874 Jessop, Thomas, Endcliffe Grange, Sheffield
 1869 Jewitt, Llewellyn, F.S.A., The Hall, Winstanley, Matlock
 1876 Jones, R. W., Maundee, Newport, South Wales
 1865 Jones, Morris Chas., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool
 1847 Jones, John, 95 Piccadilly, W.
 1880 Jones, W. P., 10 Rosslyn Terrace, Redlands, Bristol
 L. 1875 Joseph, Major H., 16 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.

 1853 Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington, Lancashire
 1870 Kerslake, Thomas, 14 West Park, Bristol
 L. 1857 Kerr, Mrs. Alexander
 1867 Kettel, H., 6 Champion Place, Cold Harbour Lane, Camberwell
 L. 1865 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor, 12 Kronprinz Strasse, Stuttgart
 1875 King, William Poole, Avonside, Clifton Down, Bristol
 1874 Knight, C. J., 14 Argyll Street, W.
 1869 Knight, W. H., 4 St. James's Square, Cheltenham

 1877 LAMPSON, LADY, 80 Eaton Square, S.W.
 1875 Lach-Szyrna, Rev. W. S., M.A., St. Peter's, Newlyn, Penzance
 1872 Lacy, John Turk, Quintin House, Cambridge Gardens, North
 Kensington, W.
 1874 Lacy, C. J., Jun., 28 Belsize Park, N.W.
 L. 1870 Lambert, George, 10 Coventry Street, W.

- 1874 Laverton, F., Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol
 1867 Leach, John, High Street, Wisbech
 L. 1873 Leader, J. Daniel, F.S.A., Oakburn, Broomhall Park, Sheffield
 1862 Le Keux, J. H., 64 Sadler Street, Durham
 1877 Lewis, Rev. G. B., M.A., Rectory, Kemsing, Sevenoaks
 1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
 L. 1877 Long, Mrs. Plater, Westhope Lodge, Southwell
 L. 1862 Long, Jeremiah, 50 Marine Parade, Brighton
 1856 Long, William, M.A., F.S.A., West Hay, Wrington, Bristol
 1877 Lord, J. Courtenay, 45 Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham
 L. 1868 Louttit, S. H., Trematon House, Grove Road, Clapham Park
 1858 Lukis, Rev. W. Collings, M.A., F.S.A., Wath Rectory, near Ripon
 1880 Lush, W. J. H., Fyfield House, Andover
 1847 Luxmore, Coryndon H., F.S.A., 18 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
 1865 Lynam, C., Stoke-upon-Trent

 1877 MOSTYN, LORD, Mostyn Hall, Flintshire
 L. 1876 MOUNT EDGCUMBE, EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Mount Edgcumbe, Devonport
 L. 1872 MEDLICOTT, SIR WILLIAM COLES, Bart., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Ven House, Sherborne, Dorset
 L. 1875 Mackeson, Edward, 13 Hyde Park Square
 1860 McCaul, Rev. John, LL.D., Toronto (care of Mr. Allen, 12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
 1864 Macnaghten, Stuart, Bittern Manor House, near Southampton
 1877 Mallet, General Baron de, 19 Carlton Terrace, Southampton
 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
 1880 Mann, Richard, Charlotte Street, Bath
 L. 1874 Mappin, F. J., Thornbury, Rammoor, Sheffield
 L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Headingley, Leeds
 1862 Marshall, W. G., Colney Hatch
 L. 1844 Marshall, William Calder, R.A., 115 Ebury Street, S.W.
 1875 Martin, Critchley, Narborough Hall, Swaffham, Norfolk
 1871 Matthew, James, 27 York Terrace, Regent's Park
 1877 Mauleverer, Miss Anne, The Hall, Armagh, Ireland
 L. 1879 Maude, Rev. Samuel, M.A., 4 Church Row, Fulham
 1867 Mayer, J., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Pennant House, Bebington, Cheshire
 1865 Mayhew, Rev. Samuel Martin, M.A., *Vice-President*, St. Paul's Vicarage, Bermondsey; 83 New Kent Road, S.E.
 L. 1870 Merriman, Mrs., Tottenham
 1872 Merriman, Robert William, Marlborough
 1863 Milligan, James, Jun., 9 High Street, Ilfracombe, Devon
 L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, 43 Brunswick Square, Brighton
 1874 Mitchell, R. W. (for Army and Navy Club), St. James' Square
 L. 1875 Meney, Walter, F.S.A., Herborough House, Newbury
 1878 Moore, Rev. Edw., F.S.A., M.A., Canon of Lincoln, Spalding
 1873 Moore, James G., West Coker, Yeovil
 L. 1847 Moore, J. Bramley, Langley Lodge, Gerard's Cross
 L. 1874 Moore, Thomas, Ashdell Grove, Sheffield

- 1876 Morgan, Rev. Ernest K. B., St. John's, Sevenoaks
 1876 Morgan, Albert C. F., Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill
 1845 Morgan, Thomas, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, *Hon. Treasurer*, Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill
 1866 Mould, J. T., 1 Onslow Crescent, South Kensington
 L. 1877 Mullings, John, Cirencester
 1872 Mullins, J. D., Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
 L. 1861 Murton, James, Silverdale, near Carnforth
 1877 Myers, Walter, 21 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park

 L. 1875 NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, E.M., *Vice-President*,*
 Arundel Castle and St. James's Square
 1875 NORTHWICK, LORD, Northwick Park, Moreton-in-the-Marsh
 L. 1875 New, Herbert, *Hon. Secretary of the Association at the Evesham Congress*, Green Hill, Evesham
 1880 Newton, Mrs., Hillside, Newark on Trent
 1877 Nicholls, J. F., Chief Librarian, Free Library, Bristol
 1880 Nixon, Edward, Savill House, Methley, Leeds
 1844 Norman, George Ward, Bromley, Kent

 1871 OUSELEY, REV. SIR F. GORE, Bart., St. Michael's, Tenbury
 1874 Ogle, Bertram, Hillside, London Road, Retford
 1852 Oliver, Lionel, Heacham, King's Lynn

 L. 1860 POWIS, THE EARL OF, 45 Berkeley Square
 L. 1866 PEEK, SIR HENRY W., Bart., M.P., Wimbledon House
 1859 Patrick, George, Dalham Villa, Southfields, Wandsworth
 1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen, 12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
 1862 Pearce, Charles, 49 Wimpole Street, Cavendish Square
 1880 Peckover, Algernon, Sibaldsholme, Wisbech
 L. 1851 Peile, Rev. Thomas W., D.D., 37 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
 L. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., Hawthorn Tower, Seaham
 1880 Penfold, Hugh, Rustington, Worthing
 1874 Peter, Richard, *Town Clerk*, Launceston
 1852 Pettigrew, Rev. Samuel T., M.A.
 1871 Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 32 Oakley Street, S.W.
 L. 1844 Phillips, James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 11 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
 1879 Phillips, the Rev. G. W., Pebworth Vicarage, Stratford-on-Avon
 1865 Phipson, R. M., F.S.A., Norwich
 L. 1852 Pickersgill, Frederick R., R.A., Burlington House, W.
 1879 Picton, J. A., F.S.A., Sandyknowe, Wavertree, Liverpool
 1879 Pollard, Harry E., 14 Duke Street, Adelphi
 1875 Prance, Courtenay C., Hatherley Court, Cheltenham
 1858 Previté, Joseph W., 13 Church Terrace, Lee
 1876 Price, F. C., 86 Leighton Road, Kentish Town
 1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
 1873 Prigg, Henry, Bury St. Edmund's

- L. 1863 RIXON, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF, 1 Carlton Gardens
- 1878 ROCHESTER, THE LORD BISHOP OF, Selstead Park, Maidstone
- L. 1866 Rae, John, F.S.A., 9 Mincing Lane, E.C.
- 1877 Rawlings, W. J., Downes, Hayle, Cornwall
- 1870 Rayson, S., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly
- 1881 Rendle, Mrs. W. Gibson, 15 Russell Road, Kensington
- 1875 Reynolds, John, The Manor House, Redland, Bristol
- L. 1848 Richards, Thomas, Great Queen Street, W.C.
- L. 1860 Ridgway, Rev. James, B.D., F.S.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, 21 Beaumont Street, Oxford
- 1879 Robinson, Thos. W. U., F.S.A., Houghton-le-Spring, Durham
- 1860 Roche, John, Clungunford House, Aston-on-Clun, Shropshire
- L. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
- 1877 Roofs, W., Craven Cottage, Wandsworth, S.W.
- 1859 Rooke, William Foster, M.D., Belvedere House, Scarborough
- 1878 Roper, W., jun., Lancaster
- 1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, F.S.A., 16 Lockyer Street, Plymouth
- 1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiesteel, Galashiels, N.B.
- 1873 Rylands, John Paul, Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire
- 1873 Rylands, W. Harry, F.S.A., 11 Hart Street, Bloomsbury
- 1856 Searth, Rev. Preb. H. M., M.A., *Vice-President*, Rectory, Wrington, Bath
- 1878 Scrivener, A., Hanley, Staffordshire
- 1874 Seeborn, H., 6 Tenterden Street, Hanover Square
- 1878 Sharpe, Frederic N., Wisbech
- 1869 Sheldon, Thomas George, Congleton, Cheshire
- 1877 Sheraton, Harry, 1 Highfield North, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
- 1851 Sherratt, Thomas, 10 Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1862 Shute, Arthur, 23 Drury Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool
- 1865 Sich, William Thrale, Chiswick
- 1867 Silver, Mrs. Beecherof, Weybridge
- 1876 Simon, L., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford Street, Covent Garden)
- 1879 Simpkinson, the Rev. J. N., North Creak, Fakenham, Norfolk
- 1879 Sinclair, the Rev. John, Fulham
- L. 1874 Smith, C. Roach, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Strood, Rochester
- 1844 Smith, J. Russell, 36 Soho Square
- 1878 Smith, Worthington G., 125 Grosvenor Road, Highbury, N.
- 1876 Smith, Miss, Holly Lodge, Southfields, Wandsworth
- L. 1865 Simpson, Rev. W. Sparrow, D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 119 Kennington Park Road, S.E.
- L. 1873 Staeye, Rev. J. Evelyn, M.A., Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield
- 1879 Stanley, Joseph, Bank Plain, Norwich
- 1861 Stephenson, Geo. Robt., 24 Great George Street, Westminster
- 1880 Stevens, Henry, F.S.A., 4 Trafalgar Square
- 1867 Stevens, Joseph, Dorset Villa, Oxford Road, Reading
- 1879 Steward, the Rev. Charles J., Somerleyton Rectory, Lowestoft
- 1880 Stock, Elliot, Fern Lodge, Millfield Lane, Highgate Rise
- 1865 Stocker, Dr., Peckham House, Peckham
- L. 1878 Strickland, Edward, M.A., F.S.A., Bristol
- 1858 Swayne, Henry J. F., The Island, Wilton, near Salisbury
- 1880 Stovin, Rev. Chas. Frederick, M.A., 59 Warwick Square, S.W.

- 1872 Tabberer, Benjamin, 10 Coleman Street, E.C.
 L. 1877 Talbot, C. H., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham
 1876 Taylor, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Chaplain of Gray's Inn, W.C.
 1874 Taylor, John, the Museum and Library, Bristol
 1876 Taylor, R. Mascie, Tynllwyn, Corwen, North Wales
 1880 Taylor, Robert, 3 Apsley Road, Clifton, Bristol
 L. 1871 Templer, James G., Lindridge, near Teignmouth
 1877 Teniswood, Chas., B.A., Caton Lodge, Putney
 1876 Thairlwall, F. J., 169 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park
 1875 Thompson, E. M., F.S.A., *Vice-President, Keeper of Manuscripts*,
 British Museum, W.C.
 1877 Thorpe, George, 21 Eastcheap, E.C.
 1874 Tomline, George, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, * 1 Carlton House Ter-
 race, S.W.
 1877 Todd, Miss, Hough Green, Chester
 1877 Tovey, Charles, 2 Royal Crescent, Bristol
 1875 Trappes, T. Byrmand, Stanley House, Clitheroe
 1879 Tremlett, Rear-Admiral, Belle Vue, Tmbridge Wells
 1860 Tuck, George, Post Office, Bloomsbury
 1873 Tucker, S. L., *Somerset Herald*, Heralds' College, E.C.
 1874 Tuke, William Murray, Saffron Walden, Essex
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PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS, WITH MAMMALIAN REMAINS, IN THE QUATERNARY DRIFT AT READING.

BY DR. JOSEPH STEVENS.

(*Read August 1880.*)

ALTHOUGH implements of flint of the palæolithic group have been found, from time to time, in the drift of the Thames at Acton, Ealing, and Ealing Dean, by General Lane Fox (now General Pitt Rivers) and others, and in the valley of the Brent (an affluent of the Thames) by Mr. Worthington G. Smith, none, I believe, at all events *in situ*, with mammalian remains had been discovered, previously to those found at Grovelands, in the pleistocene of the Thames valley, at Reading. There is mention of some wrought flints having been found by Capt. Cooper King at Bob's Mount,¹ in some top soil, which were neolithic; and Mr. Shrubsole, F.G.S., of Reading, had picked up a flint implement of palæolithic type near the fluvial section at Redlands, which in all probability came from the gravel capping those deposits.

In bringing this matter to the knowledge of this Society I have thought it better, instead of a cut and dried paper, to give a few notes of the details as they were taken down at the time. From these I find that in September 1879 visits were made to the superficial drifts on the north or Caversham side of the valley; but necessarily without success as regards finding implements, the drifts exposed in cuttings being high up on the chalk, and belonging to the earlier high level gravels.

¹ *Transactions of the Newbury Dist. Field Club*, vol. ii.
1881

In October investigations were made in the drifts on the south side. Mr. Palmer's cutting near the Bath Road, a section embracing eocenes capped with a more recent drift, contained no signs of implements; neither could I learn that any mammalian remains had been discovered there. In a moved drift about 6 feet in depth, overlying the "Reading beds" at Coley Hill, I found what appears to be a drift hatchet and the well wrought, pointed tool, fig. 13. They were both found on the surface of the material.

The Redlands drift, which lies considerably east, and at a lower level than the implement-bearing drift at Grovelands, furnished a complete puzzle. On a superficial view it appeared an oddly assorted mixture of quaternary and eocene; a folding in apparently, as if some upper, later stratifications had toppled over, and taken the place of older lower ones.

An able paper on these deposits, which I am permitted to quote, has just appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for May 1880, from the pen of Mr. S. B. Poulton, F.G.S. In a letter to me on the subject, Mr. Poulton remarks that "the deposit is purely fluviatile, containing elements from the chalk and oolite as well as from the high level gravels. It contains tree-trunks (*pinus*) in the sand, which is sometimes 15 feet thick,—a strange combination as coming from such widely separated beds." In the gravel topping the cutting, Mr. Poulton found a flake which he is not certain might not have fallen from the upper layer, and be neolithic. After much looking over both the undisturbed drift and the gravels spread over the neighbouring roads, search for "paleolithics" here also was unsuccessful.

The next adventure was at Westlands, further westward. Here a wide plateau of post-glacial drift extends along the south wall of the valley. It is evidently fluviatile, in places rudely stratified, and contains some strips of coarse sands irregularly bedded. It is barren of implements, for after repeated visits the result was merely one knife-like flake (fig. 15); but as it rested on dug materials, it probably came from the top, and is neolithic. A similar neolithic specimen occurred in the top soil at Grovelands, capping the implement-bearing drift.

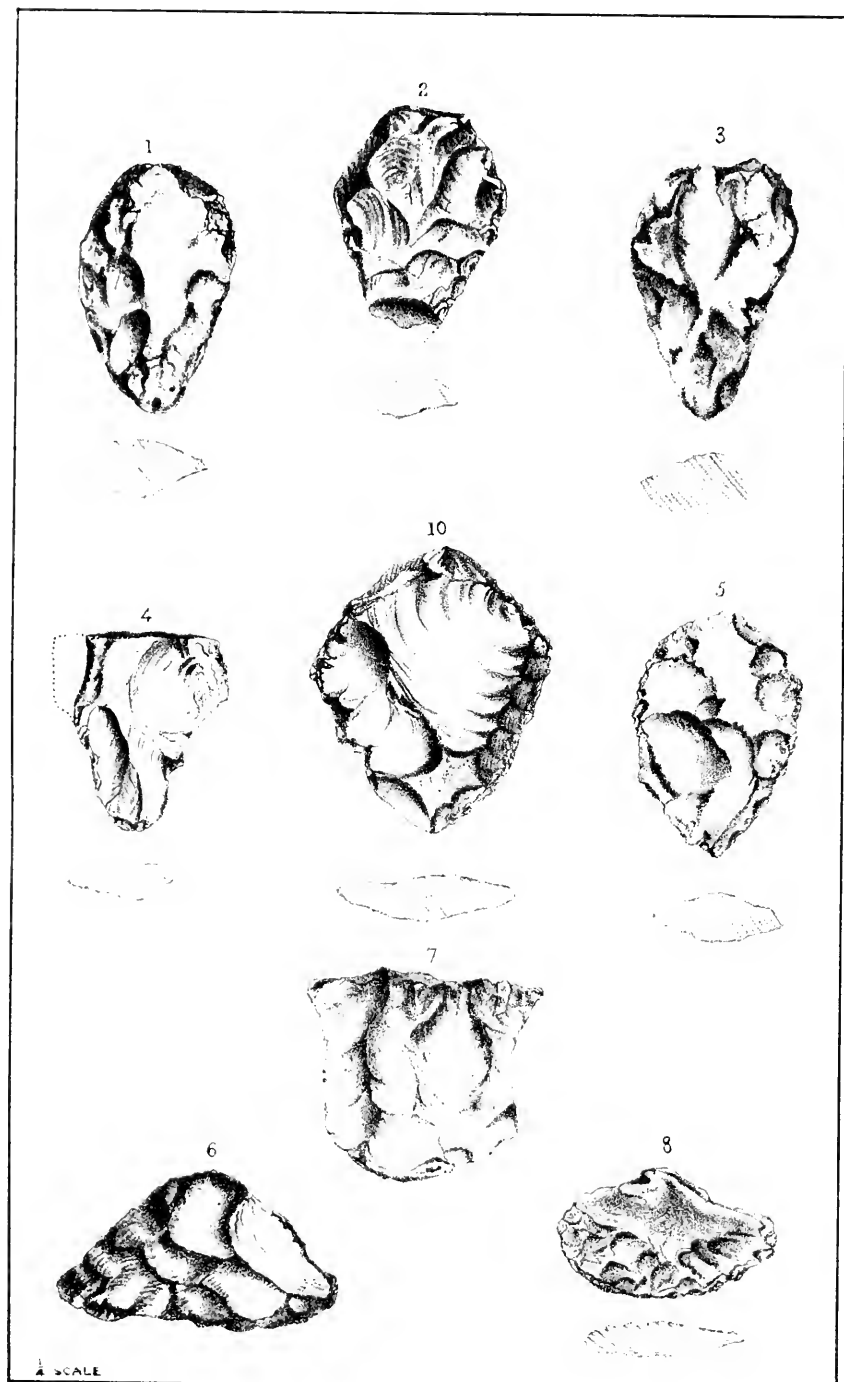
Research was more successful at the Grovelands section, which occupies the north extremity of the Westlands platform at the point where the valley-line is broken by a hollow. The gravel here is excavated in two facets, both yielding well cut implements of the palæolithic type; but they are more abundant in the lower facet. The upper cutting shewed a depth of drift-gravel, at the deepest part, of 7 feet; the depth of the lower section being 6 feet, but which was subsequently lowered to 8 ft., at which point it was found to rest on a floor of eocene sand without any intervening plastic clay. The gravel was used for road repairing; and as a good deal of the material had been distributed over a new road which extends away immediately from the cutting, it occurred to me that implements might be found there. Such was the case. Some good cores and flakes, an ovato-pointed instrument, and several specimens pointed with wrought and unwrought butts were picked up. The flakes had well shaped bulbs and percussion surfaces, and many of them had been used for scraping. A heap of gravel had remained during the summer for winter consumption, and had become cleansed by the rains. Here also implements occurred, with large cores and refuse of various kinds, resulting apparently from the manufacture of implements.

The resultant was a very miscellaneous collection. One specimen is peculiarly interesting. It is a hatchet of quartzite (fig. 1), a material of exceptional use in Britain, although not uncommon where its employment is necessitated by the absence of flint, as in Madras. Implements cut from quartzites are common in the laterite beds of Madras, and specimens of such are present in the Blackmore collection at Salisbury. The triangular form (fig. 6) is well wrought on both surfaces. It is somewhat rounded on the upper surface, as if for grasping, while the lower margin is bevelled so as to form a cutting edge. Fig. 8 represents a peculiar, neatly wrought specimen. In size and outline it somewhat resembles a valve of the large fresh water mussel. Its interior is hollow, and its margin is shaped as if intended for scraping.

The implement bearing drift-gravel appears to form a

fringe along the edge of the valley, and is at this point 81 feet above the level of the river at the junction of the Thames and Kennet; the levels at this and at some other sections having been kindly taken by Mr. Read, of the Ordnance Survey, on July 24th. The gravel rounds over to a lower level on the west, and northward it thins out to nothing. The depth to the chalk below the gravel we found, having made a cutting, to be 15 feet; the materials being buff-sands of the Woolwich and Reading series, becoming coarser and yellower at the base, followed by a band of bluish clay blackened in places with decayed vegetation, with the usual layer of rolled, green-coated flints lying immediately on the chalk. The entire depth of the deposits is 31 feet, arranged as follows:—Soil with flint rubble, 1 ft.; mixed rubble and drift-gravel, 1 ft.; ochreous gravel, 14 ft.; eocenes, 15 ft.;—the whole, 31 ft. The explorations and measurements were kindly granted by Mr. Hill, the proprietor, to whom I am greatly indebted for permission to conduct researches among the gravels.

The drift is a deeply ferruginous, sandy loam, containing flint gravel of varying coarseness, together with sub-angular flints. In places the deposit is pebbly, and bedded sands occur in the lower cutting. In some cases these appear to be eocene sands rearranged; in others, the sand is a clean, sharp river-grit, accompanied with white flint-gravel and comminuted chalk. On the whole, the materials comprising the drift are very miscellaneous, and have come from widely different sources. Large quartzites are present from some older pebble-drift, pieces of chert and of white quartz, and small green-coated nodules from the Woolwich and Reading beds. More rarely, far-travelled schistose materials, lumps of felspar, and scraps of slate, appear. Of molluscan remains, the list records gryphaea, one or two species of ostrea, inoceramus, and a species of terebra; but I have not been able to detect any recent river-shells. Evidences of the denudation of the chalk are present in large, ragged, ochreous coloured flints similar to some which are built in the walls of Reading Abbey. From such many of the instruments have evidently been manufactured. On occasional large pebbles, rubbings and scratch-marks are observable,



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as if the stones had suffered friction, probably from drifting in ice.

Of the implements found in the drifts, some were angular and unworn, and could not have travelled far from the place of their manufacture; others, on the contrary, were much waterworn, from drifting, perhaps, in sandy water. They are mostly all stained of the same ochreous colour as the drift; but some few of the specimens have the appearance of being neolithic; and as neolithic forms occur in the top soil, it is not unlikely that such specimens might have dropped into the drift-gravels. It is not to be considered that the men of the surface-period followed immediately in the footsteps of the makers of the drift implements; but certain it is that this locality furnishes evidences of the handiwork of both periods in close relation, the soil overlying the drift at Grovelands being replete with flakes and arrow-points of later fabrication.

Referring again to my notes, I find that on the 5th of February 1880, in some greenish gray sand at the south end of the lower section, at the depth of 5 feet, a waterworn portion of a shaft of what appears to be mammoth-bone was dug out; and at the same level in the same section, with some rude flakes, etc., a well wrought, ovate-pointed implement (fig. 5). Other rude shapes came up in the sieve from day to day; and on the 15th of February, at the north part of the cutting, at the depth of 6 feet, a molar of mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*) was found lying on some sand; and at about a yard distant, at a similar level, a vertebral bone, apparently of bos (*Bos primigenius*). The cementum of the molar had become disintegrated, leaving the plates of dentine in the sand. Two well formed, ovate-pointed instruments were found close by, together with much wrought refuse material. Part of the shaft of another mammal, from its character and density, appears to be that of some carnivorous creature.

As the limit of this paper will not admit of extended detail, it may be added in summary that the instruments include ovate and ovate-pointed types, instruments with unwrought butts, rude cores and flakes, scraper-forms (fig. 14), choppers (fig. 7), so named ice-chisels (fig. 11), trimmed flakes, drill, and knife-forms (fig. 16), and non-

descript articles for which ingenuity can hardly suggest an application.¹

A peculiarity to which I would call the attention of this Society is the absence hitherto, from the series, of the strictly ovate and the long pointed forms which are so essentially palæolithic; as, for instance, some of the types from Hill Head, Bidenham, and Red Hill.² The absence of such in the Grovelands drift, with the presence of forms which appear to approach to surface-types, led to the suggestion from Professor Rupert Jones, who more than once inspected these implements, that they might probably be intermediate, and come nearer to the cave series. Some of the implements are large ovate, lanceolate, flat on one side, and wrought round the circumference on the other (fig. 10). The instruments are, on the whole, very neatly wrought, and remind one of some of those found at Santon Downham and at Icklingham,³ from which districts some individual specimens are stated by Dr. Evans to be of the same character as implements from the cave of Le Moustier. Although both the drift and cave series belong to the palæolithic division, a gradation in form (the cave approximating to the surface series) has been frequently observed and commented on. Thus Dr. John Evans⁴ writes:—"Though in some instances the river-drift and cave-deposits belong apparently to the same period, yet in others it seems probable that we have in the caves relics derived from a period alike unrepresented in the old alluvia and in the superficial soil; and which probably belong to an inter-

¹ Since this paper was read, some additional objects have come to light. The proximal half of a lower adult molar of mammoth and some broken shank-bones of *bos* have been dug out during the present winter; and among the implements, of which several have been found similar to those already described, have occurred two fine specimens differing somewhat in size and character from any hitherto discovered. One of these is in type very similar to the heavy hatchet from Studhill (fig. 462, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*). It measures in length $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. The other is an elegant, pear-shaped implement, measuring 6 inches by 4 inches. A large almond-shaped instrument has likewise been met with; and an oval-pointed specimen, making the second from the Kennet's Mouth Pit.

² See Dr. Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, figs. 466, 414, 415, 427, 428.

³ *Ibid.*, figs. 420, 424, 431, 435, 437.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

mediate age, and assist to bridge over the gap that would otherwise intervene between the river-drift and the surface period." If we take these impressions to apply them to the river-drifts specially, I think it may be considered that these have been deposited at such widely different periods, and under such a variety of circumstances, that we need not feel surprise at meeting instruments approaching nearer, in some cases, to surface-implements than others of the same group. I mean in their general *facies*, although, perhaps, bearing considerable *individual* differences. If we take the scrapers, for instance, some of them appear closely to foreshadow neolithic forms (figs. 14 and 18). The hatchets are ovate or leaf-shaped (fig. 5), while others are individualised by angularity of shoulder (figs. 2, 4, 12, 17), approximating to lozenge forms; and thus, while departing from the characters which distinguish early palæolithic types, make an approach to implements of more recent fabrication. The modifications may, however, be ascribed to difference of locality, and be merely tribal.

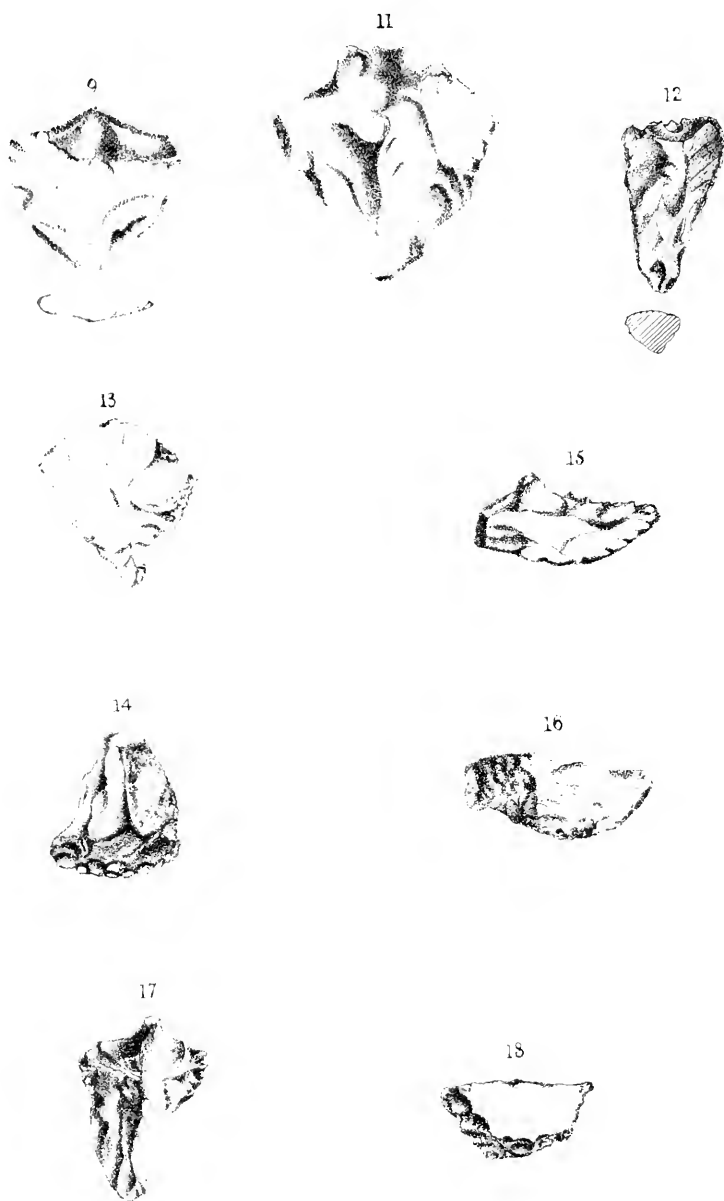
From the general diffusion throughout portions of the drift of untravelled flakes, and of other forms, which are nondescript, but which have evidently undergone human manipulation, the inference suggests itself that Grovelands was visited for flint working purposes. But whence came the chalk-flints from which the instruments were constructed? A line of the great cretaceous system extends along the north side of the Thames valley; but we should, I believe, look nearer home. The denudation of the Woolwich and Reading beds, which has been partly accomplished at Grovelands, has been completed at about 100 yards northward of this section, where, at a somewhat lower level, the chalk comes up to the surface, and is used for industrial purposes. That the chalk has been reached, and suffered denudation, is shewn by the chalk-drift, or rearranged chalk, which caps the unmoved upper chalk to a depth of several feet. There are no eocenes underneath the top soil; but reconstructions made up of ferruginous drift-gravel and mixed earth-rubble and drift to a depth of 5 feet or 6 feet; and on the south escarpment some potholes shew a complete letting down of drift-gravel into the unmoved chalk.

Surveying shortly the drifts at a lower level, we arrive

at the important section already alluded to as having been the subject of the investigation of Mr. Poulton. Its elevation is 39 feet above the valley water-level; and the river-drifts are remarkable in being associated with mammalian remains and silicified tree-trunks of the genus *pinus*, which were present chiefly in the sands. The sands lie underneath some clay and ochreous flint gravel; both the fluviatile sands and clay occupying a somewhat lower level in front of the mottled clay and buff-sands of the Woolwich and Reading series from which they have been reconstructed. In some cases in the gravel, but chiefly in the sand, occurred the mammalian remains, while the tree-trunks were exclusively confined to the sand-bed. The animal remains consist of two perfect molar teeth and fragments of molars of the *mammoth*, from between the sand and gravel, and fragments of skeletons of *mammoth* in the sand and gravel; portions of *Bos primigenius* in the sand, and also of *Equus fossilis* between the sand and gravel, and of supposed *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* in the gravel. The derived remains in the shape of shells, etc., found in the same deposit with the mammalian remains, consist of worn fragments of *Ostrea dilitata*, *Inoceramus*, *Ostrea belloracena*, and shell-masses from the basement-beds of the London clay.

After a minute detail of every particular connected with this interesting section, Mr. Poulton makes the following summary: "The south slope of the river-valley at the Redlands estate affords a very perfect example of a typical valley-slope; and in addition presents the more exceptional appearances of the reconstruction of the tertiary beds by fluviatile agency, in such a manner that the easily removable elements of the latter remain, though altered in structure and intermixed with the organic and inorganic remains of very different ages and widely diverse conditions. And the sections in this pit add another to the scattered evidences that occur at intervals along the valley of the Thames, proving the existence, in some post-glacial time, of a larger river occupying its valley, and flowing at a level from 20 to 30 feet higher than the present."

Mr. Prestwich has remarked on the interest attaching to the finding of mammalian remains not associated with



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coarse gravel, but in finely stratified, fluviatile beds, which do not otherwise occur between Oxford and Reading in the Thames valley. Mr. Whitaker has suggested that the reconstruction might be due to landslips and the action of springs, while Professor Hughes has pointed out an instance of a similar reconstruction of tertiary beds at the Upnor Castle section.

At a yet lower level a third division of the fluviatile drift-gravels has been opened up at Newtown, close to the *embouchure* of the Kennet, and the section is consequently denominated "The Kennet Mouth Pit." It differs in many particulars from the higher level drifts; but it is correlative in the character of its embedded animal remains. Here, as in the upper drifts, the mammoth is found to predominate. The cutting is about 20 feet in depth, and its level above the surface of the Thames is 30 feet. The drift is marked by the absence of ochreous gravels; but the stratifications, which run in the line of the valley, are tolerably regular, and consist of coarse river-sand intercalated with "white water-gravel". The entire deposit conveys the idea of swifter current-action, as if increased velocity had attended diminished river-volume. The constituents of the drift are all much water-worn; the shells, which are similar to those in the upper cuttings, being fragmentary.

The collection and preservation of the animal remains is due to Mr. Harrison Jones, who has obtained from time to time some interesting specimens, which he has kindly permitted me to look over with him. They appear to consist of half of a molar of *Equus fossilis*, fourth upper molar of *Elephas*, the anterior of a much worn adult molar of *Elephas*, another waterworn fragment of molar, about half of a second molar of *Elephas*, part of a shaft, apparently of a bone of *Elephas*, together with fragments of mammalian bones. A solitary drift implement (fig. 3) was found lying on the loose gravel by Mr. Simpson, and kindly presented to me by that gentleman. It is quite characteristic of the materials of the drift, and is peculiar in approaching nearer to the pointed, pear-shaped, palæolithic type than any that has hitherto been met with in the Reading drift.

In reviewing the ground that we have gone over, a

gleam of light is obtained regarding the condition of the Thames valley at Reading during the periods represented by the Grovelands drift; the fluviatile reconstructions at Redlands and the river-drift at Newtown occupying respectively positions above the present Thames level of 81, 39, and 30 feet.

During the excavation of the valley from the upper to the lower level, the mammoth was evidently an inhabitant of the district; and with the mammoth we have undoubted traces of man in his handiwork, in the upper and lower sections, and doubtfully in the middle section. The middle section, in its fossil tree-trunks, represents the flora of the period; and being pine, shews that the climate was cold.

The agencies which operated in bringing the valley to its present condition were many and diversified,—the ice of Arctic winters, possible oscillations of level, alternations of temperature, producing storms and winds and torrential rains. Although, perhaps, we may, in the case of the Reading beds, as suggested by the character of the flint implements, be dealing with a comparatively late post-glacial period, the winters must have then been long and intensely cold, and followed by short and warm summers. Viewing the matter thus, then, it is imaginable that under the relaxing influence of the approaching summers, the heavy rains and snow-water from the melting masses lying along the lofty chalk hills, together with drifting ice, flooded the valley, and brought down spoils from the Oxford clay, oolites, or greensand; or, indeed, from whatever stratifications the distant river-tributaries were cutting their way. These would be dropped down in quiet reaches, or driven up to the river-margins of the wide and comparatively level plain at Reading. The drift-level of 81 feet is the water-level, at one period, of the valley history; and the age of the drift at this point represents the age of the tools representing palæolithic man. When the animal or vegetable remains, or, as the case may be, the implements, are water-worn, they are drifted specimens; the unworn bones or flint tools, perhaps, marking near where the animals died, or the instruments were manufactured. The rude fishing tribes who constructed the implements, during flooded periods were

driven to occupy higher levels ; to return, as the waters diminished, to their old working sites. The relics of the labour of one summer were covered in by the drifts of the following winter, and thus, step by step, the gravel beds, with their embedded remains, were gradually built up, and have survived to be brought within the scope of scientific investigation by the aid of the pick and shovel of the iron period of 1880.

CONFRATERNITIES.

BY I. H. JEAYES, ESQ.

(Read January 7, 1880.)

GUILDS are said to be of Saxon origin; but unquestionably similar institutions existed at a very early period among the southern nations of Europe, where they were known by the name of confraternities. The Saxon guilds seem to have resembled our modern friendly societies. On condition of a certain payment or service a member was entitled to relief in sickness and protection from violence. At a later period guilds were of two kinds, religious and secular. Both classes were based, as a general rule, on the principle of mutual relief; but the former were established for the performance of works of charity, and for the regular observance of certain religious services, while the main object of the latter was the advancement of the commercial interests of the fraternity. It is the former, the religious guild or confraternity, that forms the subject of this paper.

Those members of the Association who attended the Congress at Wisbech last year will have a pleasant recollection of their visit to the church of the Holy Trinity at Walsoken, a little village about a mile from Wisbech, situate on the borders of Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. During the examination of the building, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, in the course of some admirable remarks on its various architectural beauties, said that "the chancel was remarkable for its series of nine stalls, which indicated either that the parish was of a considerable size, so as to command a good choir, or that there was some guild in connection with the church. His own opinion favoured the latter hypothesis." That opinion did Mr. Brock much credit; for that there was a guild or hospital attached to Walsoken Church as early, at any rate, as the fifteenth century, a charter, an extract from which I shall have the pleasure of reading presently, will, I think, yield sufficient proof. It will also be remembered that on

the last day of the same Congress, Mr. W. de Gray Birch presided over and described an interesting exhibition of ancient MSS. collected by Mr. Peckover of Wisbech. Amongst them attention was called to a deed lent by Mr. H. Prigg of Bury St. Edmunds, as coming from Walsoken Priory. This is the first document for our consideration ; and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to that gentleman for the loan of the charter, and also for his observations upon it, which I have been glad to embody in this paper.

The confraternity, then, of the Holy Trinity, Walsoken, was governed by a custos, or warden, and consisted of chaplains and the brothers and sisters of the society. How much earlier than the fifteenth century the establishment existed, or who were the founders of it, there is no documentary evidence to shew, except a reference in the deed itself to Urban VI, who filled St. Peter's chair in 1378-1389. He, indeed, granted peculiar privileges to this society, which were afterwards confirmed by several of his successors. We are only able to give the names of four of the wardens, viz., Robert Rymie, 1456 ; Thomas Jackson, died 1475 ; succeeded by — Hewett ; and Eborard, 1481. The document, of which a transcript is given below, is a grant of admission for three persons to the fraternity during the wardenship of Eborard, the last of the four wardens above mentioned. There is also in our hands a copy of a similar deed executed when Robert Rymie was warden ; but as the forms of the documents are identical, it will be unnecessary to describe them both, the remarks to be made about the one referring equally to the other. Blometfield, in his *History of Norfolk*, gives the former one *in extenso* ; and at first sight it would almost seem that this very document had passed through the hands of the famous antiquary, but in reference to it he says that the copy he had access to was rude and imperfect, and he leaves gaps where apparently it was damaged and illegible or altogether wanting. This, on the contrary, is in an excellent state of preservation. It must, therefore, have been a duplicate. No doubt forms of admission were kept on hand, to be used as occasion demanded, for the names of the persons admitted are supplied in a totally distinct handwriting ; and the absolu-

tion to an admitted member, which appears on the endorsement being drawn up in the singular number, bears out this supposition.

On reading through the charter we learn what the peculiar privileges possessed by the members of the guild were, viz., to those who, out of the abundance which God has bestowed on them, have been benefactors to the society, and have become members thereof, Pope Urban VI hath released annually the seventh part of the penance imposed on them, and hath granted to them three years and a hundred days of pardon, and hath also made them partakers of all masses, prayers, and other spiritual advantages, which are and shall hereafter be made in the Universal Church. And if the particular church to which they belong shall be interdicted, and they should happen to die during the time of interdiction (unless they have been excommunicated or interdicted *as individuals*, or have become public usurers), then proper and becoming burial according to the rites of Holy Church shall not be denied them; and the ministers who have charge of their souls shall have power to absolve them from their sins, if duly repented of; unless, indeed, they shall have been of so heinous a character as to call for the interference of the apostolic authority.

The deed then goes on to say that Popes Boniface IX, Martin V, Paul II, and Sixtus V, have confirmed these privileges granted by their predecessor, and that Thomas Hurttou, and Margery his wife, and Alice Dekkys, have duly qualified themselves, and are hereby admitted members of the fraternity. The absolution runs as follows :

“By the authority of Almighty God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, I absolve thee from all thy sins which thou hast repented of and confessed, as well as from those sins which are forgotten, and which thou art willing to confess if they shall come unto thy memory; and I release to thee a seventh part of penance by virtue of this deed. In the name of the Father”, etc.

The date of the charter is 1481. The seal attached is unfortunately in a mutilated condition; but the ordinary seal of the Hospital was oblong, and its device represented God the Father supporting the figure of Our Saviour upon the cross; below that, the Custos at prayers, with a legend, SIGILL... CONFRATRVM ET CONSOROR... TRINITATIS DE WALSOKE.

Deed of Admission from Eborard, Warden of the Chapel and Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Walsoken, to Thomas Hurtton, Margery his Wife, and Alice Dekkys, to the Fraternity. Dated 1481.

“Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Eborardus custos capelle et hospitalis sancte Trinitatis de Walsoken Norwicensis dioceseos et eiusdem loci confratres et consorores salutem in Domino sempiternam, Nouerit vniuersitas vestra veneranda quod pijssimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Dominus Urbanus diuina miseratione papa Sextus de plenitudine sue potestatis nobis indulsit quod eis qui de facultatibus suis sibi a deo collatis nobis subuenerint et in sanctam fraternitatem nostram statuerint se collegas nobis que beneficia prestiterint annuatim septimanam partem penitentie iniuncte relaxant tres annos et centum dies venie tocies quociens hoc fecerint vel uenerint concessit ac eciam plenariam participationem omnium missarum et aliarum orationum spiritualium que fiunt et de cetero fient in vniuersali ecclesia. Et si ecclesie ad quas pertinent fuerint interdicte ipsosque mori contigerit nisi excommunicati vel nominatim interdicti aut publici usurarii fuerint sepultura ecclesiastica eis non negabitur et curati eorum qui habent curas animarum suarum possunt eos absolvere ab omnibus eorum peccatis contritis et confessis ac eciam oblitis nisi forte talia commiserint propter que sedes apostolica sit merito consulenda. Quas quidem concessionem sanctissimi in Christo patres Bonifacius papa nonus Martinus quintus Paulus papa secundus et Sixtus papa quartus misericorditer per amplius confirmauerunt et quia dilecti nobis in Christo Thomas Hurtton Margery vxor Alice Dekkys caritatiua subsidia nobis donauerint in dictum confraternitatem nostram eos assumimus et inter nostros confratres Christi pauperes numeramus eosque quantum cum deo possumus omnium bonorum spiritualium inter nostros confratres habitorem et in posterum missarum videlicet et aliarum orationum ieiuniorum vigiliarum abstinentiarum elemosinarum et peregrinationum participes esse volumus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonio sigillum custodis hospitalis nostri predicti presentibus est appensum. Dat’ apud Walsoken in capella nostra sexto die Octobris anno domini millesimo ccccxxxii.”

(Seal.)

Endorsement (extended):

“Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac auctoritate apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis per te vere contritis et mihi confessis Nec non ab omnibus peccatis tuis oblitis de quibus velles confiteri si tue occurrerent memorie ac septimanam partem penitentie prius tibi auctoritate literarum apostolicarum tibi concessarum Relaxo In nomine patris”, etc.

Of a somewhat similar character to the two documents

above referred to is Wolley Charter (3, 94), now in the British Museum, which purports to be a deed of the admission of Mark Lowe into the Guild of the Blessed Virgin in the church of St. Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire. The charter commences with the usual long and wordy preamble reciting all the past gifts and privileges granted to the Guild by various Popes, beginning with Nicholas V (1447-1455), and ending with Julius II (1503-1513), and is as follows :

“ Universis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Nos aldermannus et camerarii Gilde sive confraternitatis in honore beate Marie Virginis in ecclesia Sancti Botulphi de Boston Lincolnie dioceseos institute salutem in omnium salvatore Dudum siquidem postquam felicitis recordationis Nicholaus quintus Pius secundus et Sixtus quartus Romani pontifices Universis confratribus utriusque sexus confraternitatis Gilde predicte facultatem eligendi confessorem sub certis modo et forma in litteris suis apostolicis desuper confectis gratiose concesserant Ac deinde Innocentius eo nomine papa Octavus eisdem confratribus et illis quos eidem confraternitati extunc decetero perpetuis futuris temporibus aggregari et in ipsius confraternitatis confratres recipi contigerit et cuilibet eorumdem ut aliquem presbiterum idoneum secularem vel religiosum in eorum possent et quilibet eorum posset eligere confessorem qui eis vita comite in casibus sedi apostolice reservatis semel in vita et mortis articulo In aliis vero quotiens foret oportunum confessionibus eorum diligenter auditis pro commissis sibi debitam absolutionem impenderet et injungeret penitentiam salutarem Semelque in vita et in mortis articulo plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem concedere valeret Ac quod liceret eis habere altare portatile cum debitis reverentia et honore super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis possent et quilibet eorum posset per proprium seu alium sacerdotem idoneum missas et alia divina officia sine juris alieni prejudicio in ipsorum et cujuslibet eorum presentia facere celebrari indulisit prout in ipsius Innocentii litteris desuper confectis plenius continetur Deinde vero et postremo sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Julius secundus papa modernus litteras facultatis et facultatum hujusmodi, necnon omnia et singula in eis contenta et inde secuta quaecunque per suas bullas apostolicas auctoritate apostolica approbavit et confirmavit supplens omnes et singulos defectus tam juris quam facti si qui forsan intervenerint in eisdem Et ulterius idem sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus Julius de benignitate sua apostolica et gratia sua speciali litteras prefati domini Innocentii predecessoris sui latius interpretans et eisdem misericorditer addens advocans sue sancte atque pie memorie quod ipsi confratres in dicta ecclesia septem sacerdotes et duodecim pueros per quos divina officia quotidie celebrentur et tredecim pauperes

suis sumptibus et expensis nutrant et nonnulla alia onera quibus iidem confratres indies onerantur Ipsos confratres et eorum singulos a quibuscunque excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quodlibet innodati existunt ad effectum litterarum hujusmodi apostolicarum dumtaxat consequendum absolvens et absolutos fore censens vt confessor per singulos confratres predictos presentes et futuros pro tempore eligendus singulis confratribus predictis tam in vero mortis articulo quam etiam quotiens de eorum morte dubitari contigerit etiam si tunc mors non succedat plenariam remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint auctoritate apostolica concedere et elargiri valeat Quodque illi ex dictis confratribus qui in sacerdotio constituti sunt vel erunt super altare portatile hujusmodi per seipsos celebrare et tam ipsi quam singuli alii confratres utriusque sexus super eodem altare portatili missas etiam antequam elucescat dies circa tamen lucem diurnam celebrari facere possint extendit et prorogavit Necnon eisdem confratribus presentibus et futuris ac universis Christi fidelibus aliis etiam utriusque sexus qui capellam beate Marie seu altare ejusdem in ecclesia predicta in singulis resurrectionis et sacratissimi corporis domini nostri Jesu Christi ac pentecostes sanctique Michaelis archangeli mensis Septembris contingentibus festivitatibus et per earum octavas necnon in propria dominica quadraginta et octo diebus immediate a primis vespers usque ad secundas vespers singulorum octo dierum hujusmodi inclusive sequentium visitaverint Quodque etiam omnes et singuli Christi fideles in civitate et Dioceseos Lincolnæ pro tempore commorantes qui aliquo impedimento detenti ac infirmi valetudinarii et utriusque sexus carceribus detenti et reclusi corde contriti et ore confessi pro manutentione et supportatione onerum dictæ confraternitatis circa premissa incumbendum manus adjutrices juxta eorum devotionem porrexerint quoties id fecerint licet personaliter dictam ecclesiam non visitaverint quod easdem prorsus indulgentias et peccatorum remissiones consequantur et consequi possint quas consequerentur et consequi possent si quadrigesimali et aliis anni stationum ecclesiarum urbis temporibus aggregari contigerit etiam utriusque sexus omnibus et singulis privilegiis indultis et concessionibus predictis participes efficiantur Auctoritate et tenore predictis de speciali gratia concessit et indulsit prout in hujusmodi litteris apostolicis ad quas nos referimus plenius continetur Quarum datum est apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo .vj. xvij kalendis Junii pontificatus sui anno .iij. Ideirco Nos Aldermanus et Camerarii prefati quibus hæc faciendi etiam absque congregatione totius confraternitatis ab eodem domino nostro Julio auctoritate apostolica consuetudines et statuta nostra laudabilia circa hoc edita per suas litteras apostolicas Quarum datum est anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo undecimo xvijº kalend Januarii Pontificatus sui

anno nono approbando et confirmando tributa et commissa est potestas Dilectis nobis in Christo Marke Lowe intra nostrorum confratrum numerum eligimus et admittimus et indulti supradicti ac nostrarum aliarum indulgentiarum omniumque aliorum suffragiorum et honorum operum spiritualium nostrorum semper fore participem volumus et innotescimus per presentes In quorum testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum Sigillum commune dictæ Gildæ presentibus est appensum Datum apud Bostoniam ... die mensis ... anno Domini M. v. c....

"Visa et examinata per me Willelmum Horsey et per me Johannem Yonge

"Impressaque per Richardum Pynson."

I have added a *précis* of the deed in English :

To all the faithful in Christ whom this deed concerns, we, the Alderman and Chamberlains of the guild or confraternity of the Blessed Virgin, in St. Botolph's Church, Boston, co. Lincoln, send greeting. Seeing that Nicholas V of blessed memory, Pius II, and Sixtus IV, have granted to the members of the fraternity power to elect a confessor, and that Innocent VIII hath confirmed that privilege to all present and future brethren, and hath by the same authority granted to such confessor power to receive confessions, to give absolutions, and to impose penance, and also to erect an altar for the saying of masses and the performance of other religious exercises ; and furthermore, seeing that the most holy Julius II, of his apostolic goodness and special favour, interpreting in a broader spirit the letters of his predecessor Innocent, and in his charitable bounty adding to the same, hath made a grant of seven priests and twelve boys for the proper celebration of divine service daily, and for the maintenance of thirteen paupers, and hath granted to them release from all ecclesiastical penalties, and remission of their sins if duly repented of ; and hath confirmed the grant of an altar for the saying of mass and other religious offices, to wit, the commemoration of Our Lord's resurrection, the Feasts of Pentecost and St. Michael the Archangel, and the due observance of Lent ; and, moreover, hath extended the indulgence to all those in the diocese of Lincoln who shall be prevented by sickness or other infirmity, or detention in prison, from attending those services ; therefore we, the Alderman and Chamberlains above mentioned, by virtue of the above quoted letters of Julius, xvii kal. Jan. 1511, do hereby admit and elect into this society, and endue with all the privileges thereof, Mark Lowe. In witness of which we have affixed the common seal of our guild in the year 15—.

The date, unfortunately, has not been filled in. But apart from the interest which accrues to this document from its actual contents, it gains an additional importance

from the fact of its being printed, the only written words being the name of the elected member; and further, at the foot of the charter appear these important words,—“Impressaque per Richardum Pynson.” Now Richard Pynson was the third of our early printers (Caxton, of course, being the first, and Wynkyn de Worde the second), and the first who introduced the Roman letter into England. He was appointed printer to Henry VII in 1503.

On the fly-leaf of Cotton MS., Galba E. xi, is a charter which, as it is very short, I will venture to read in its entirety:

“Devote et in Christo sibi dilecte Agneti Cumbe frater Thomas Palmer prior provincialis fratrum ordinis predicatorum in provincia Anglicana licet indignus salutem et augmentum omnium celestium gratiarum Exigente vestre devotionis affectu quem ad nostrum habetis ordinem vobis omnium missarum orationum predicationum jejuniorum abstinentiarum vigiliarum laborum ceterorumque bonorum quæ per fratres ordinis nostre dominus per provinciam Angliæ fieri dederit universam participationem concedo tenore presentium spirituales Volo insuper et ordino ut post decessum vestrum anima vestra fratrum totius provincie orationibus recommendetur in nostro provinciali capitulo si vester ibidem obitus fuerit nunciatus et fungantur pro ipsa misse et orationes sicut pro fratribus nostris defunctis fieri consuevit In ejus concessionis testimonium sigillum officii mei presentibus est appensum Datuna in capitulo nostro provinciali Cantuarie celebrato in festo Assumptionis Virginis gloriose anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo quinto” [1395].

To our beloved and devout Agnes Cumbe, I, Thomas Palmer, Provincial Prior of the Brotherhood of Preachers in England, although unworthy, send greeting and increase of all heavenly favour. In consideration of your affection and devotion to our order I hereby grant to you participation in all masses, prayers, penances, fasts, vigils, and all other benefits which shall be performed by our body. Moreover, I will and command that after your decease your soul shall be commended to the prayers of the brethren of the whole province, if your death shall be made known to them, and that all customary masses and prayers shall be performed for the salvation of your soul. In witness whereof the seal of my office is hereto appended. Given at our provincial chapter of Canterbury on the Feast of the Assumption, 1395.

This Thomas Palmer is described by Stevens, in his *Additions to Dugdale*, as “of the order of St. Dominic, Prior of the Monastery in London, D.D., highly esteemed by Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, for his great pro-

bity, singular wit, extraordinary erudition, and wonderful zeal for God's glory."

An earlier charter still is Add. Ch. 9323, a grant of similar privileges from Philip, Abbot of Wigmore, to Sir Roger Tromyn, Knt., and Dame Joan his wife. The date of this document is 1317.

But the earliest form of admission seems to have been in the form of a paragraph inserted in an ordinary grant of property by an individual to a religious society; and in proof of this a transcript of Add. Ch. 14,716, a deed of grant of lands from John, son of Ralph Tyvile, to the Guild of St. Faith at Horsham, is here appended :

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Radulphi de Tyvile concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo beate marie ecclesie sancte fidei de Horsham et monachis ibidem deo servi-entibus in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam quoddam messuagium omnes terras prata pascuas mariscum pasturas redditus quoscumque et omnia tenementa que tenent de feodo meo in villa de Intewod cum omnibus suis pertinentiis vna cum tota terra quam adquisierunt de magistro et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Egidii de Norwico in eadem villa de feodo meo et cum libera falda cum videntibus sine numero et omnibus suis pertinentiis libertatibus et esiamenis Reddendo mihi et heredibus meis inde annuatim tam pro terra quam adquisierunt de predicto magistro et fratribus quam pro aliis tenementis redditibus et libertatibus quibuscumque octo denarios videlicet ad festum sancti Michaelis sex denarios et ad festum Purificationis beate Marie duos denarios pro omnibus serviciis homagiis wardis releuiis eschaetis curiarum sectis et attachiamenis quacumque occasione fiant et ad cuiuscumque querimoniam et auxiliis ad faciendum filium militem fieri seu ad filiam maritandam et omnimodis consuetudinibus et secularibus demandis in quocumque consistant ut consistere poterunt in futurum salvo tantum servicio domini regis scilicet ad viginti solidos ad sentagium quando venerit triginta et vnum denarios et ad plus plus et ad minus minus Et ego predictus Johannes et heredes mei warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus omnes terras prata pasturas mariscum redditus quoscumque libertatem falde et omnia tenementa predicta cum suis libertatibus et pertinentiis ut supradictum est predictis monachis sancte Fidis et successoribus suis et eorum ecclesie supradicte contra omnes Christianos et Judeos per predictum servicium in perpetuum Pro hac autem concessione et presentis carte mee confirmatione receperunt me antecessores et heredes meos in omnibus beneficiis que fiunt et fient in domo sua in perpetuum In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Domino Huberto Hakun Ricardo filio suo Gregorio de Oldhac Huberto de Meatone Johanne Skilman Ri-

cardo Skilman Willelmo de Carletone Radulpho de Erlham
 Eustacio le Curzun Willelmo de Thweyt Willelmo de Dunstone
 Willelmo le Moyne Johanne le Moyne Radulpho de Colneye
 Willelmo le Butelier Johanne Clerico et aliis."

Let all men know that I, John, son of Ralph of Tyvile, have granted and hereby confirmed to God, the Blessed Virgin, the church of St. Faith at Horsham, and the monks there, in free and perpetual charity, a certain messuage with lands, meadows, pastures, rents, tenements, etc., held from me in the town of Intewod, with all appurtenances, together with land acquired from the brethren of the Hospital of St. Giles at Norwich. By paying to me and my heirs annually eight pence, namely, at the Feast of St. Michael six pence, and at the Feast of the Purification two pence, for all services, homages, wardships, reliefs, escheats, suits, attachments, aids, for the knighting of my son or marriage of my daughter; and in all customs and demands whatsoever, save only the service of my Lord the King, to wit, scutage as assessed; and I, the said John, and my heirs will warrant, acquit, and defend, all lands, pastures, etc., above mentioned, to the said monks of St. Faith and their successors, against all men, Christians and Jews. In return for this grant and confirmation they have received me and my heirs into all the benefits of their house. In witness whereof I have placed my seal. Witnesses: Sir Herbert Hakun, Gregory of Oldhae, and fourteen others.

This document does not bear a date, but it is probably of the end of the thirteenth century.

And lastly, there are two charters numbered respectively, Add. Ch. 15.675, 15.676, now in the British Museum, of a similar character, and dated 1497, 1502, which bear for endorsement a form of absolution which differs somewhat from that on the Walsoken charter. It is as follows:

"Absolvo te ab omnibus penis purgatorii et quæ tibi in purgatorio debentur propter culpas et offensas quas contra deum commisisti et te restituo illo innocentio in quo eras tempore quo baptizatus fuisti."

I absolve you from all penalties of purgatory, and whatever penances are owed by you in purgatory on account of sins and offences which you have committed against God, and I restore you to that state of innocence in which you were at the time of your baptism.

THE MARTEL OR WAR-HAMMER.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read April 21, 1880.)

THE martel, or war-hammer, has been employed from an era far beyond the reach of history, and plays a most important part in Scandinavian mythology, where, under the title of *mjölnir*, it is wielded by Thor, the God of Thunder. The weapon, as its name implies, was no doubt at first a mere ponderous hammer, but in advancing time, and in different regions of the globe, it underwent certain modifications in form which rendered it more akin to a pickaxe than a mallet. Among the relics of the stone period occur martels of various sorts and sizes. In the year 1874 an interesting discovery was made of British remains in the valley near Stonham, Suffolk, one of the objects brought to light being a martel about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, chipped out of a piece of light bluish flint speckled with white. It has a sharp point or pick at one end, and a hammer at the other, the sides of the middle portion being concave, with a notch or depression on the upper surface the better to receive the haft, which was no doubt twisted round the stone in the manner blacksmiths mount some of their iron tools. Viewed from above, the outline of this rare type of weapon looks like the sole of a shoe, with pointed toe and round heel, as is apparent from the sketch kindly sent me by Mr. Watling.

Some of the stone martels are wrought with great care and neatness, and drilled to receive the haft. Such, for instance, are the examples figured in this *Journal* (xvi, p. 295, xvii, p. 19), which have a hammer at one end and an axe at the other. To these I add a fine specimen of the axe-hammer, which was exhumed at Saddleworth, Lancashire, in 1771, and was formerly in the Leverian Museum. It is wrought of grauwaké, weighs 3 pounds, and measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches from edge to butt; and has a large and somewhat oval perforation to admit the stout staff on which it was mounted. It is this kind of martel that is vulgarly called *Thor's hammer*.

Occasionally we see the pick and the axe combined in the same weapon, an instance of which occurs in the beautiful martel of greenstone, 11 inches in length, which was found in the Channel Islands, and is engraved in our *Journal* (iii, p. 128).

In the Museum of St. Petersburg is a very ancient Russian war-hammer, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, formed of blackstone, one extremity being a pick, the other carved in semblance of the head of an animal.¹

Traces of the stone period are recognisable among the Yookulty of Nootka Sound, one of whose weapons, called *taaweesh*, may fairly be regarded as a primitive martel. The upper part of the wooden haft is fashioned like a hideous human head, in the mouth of which is fixed a pointed blade of black stone, from 6 to 8 inches in length, and which has the aspect of a protruding tongue of enormous size. Examples of the *taaweesh* have become very rare, but some may be seen in the Ethnological Department in the British Museum.

Formidable martels were in vogue during the bronze period, as is evident from discoveries made in Germany and Switzerland. In the Klemm collection at Dresden is a specimen, about 18 inches in length, which was found at Thuringen, both ends of which finish in horizontal edges like a *martel-de-fer*, to be noticed hereafter;² and in the Zurich Museum is a war-hammer of the pick type, which has vertical edges. This was met with at Liels, near Oberwyl, not far from Bremgarten.³

With the iron age came the *martel-de-fer* in all its glory, and the frequent and effective use made of it by Charles, the father of Pepin le Bref, King of France, gained for him the surname of Martel.

Closely allied to the martel, if indeed they were not identical with it, was the *oncin* of the eleventh, and the *bisacuta* or *besague* of the fourteenth century, pick or beaked weapons, with which the scales and rings of the armour were broken and torn off, leaving inviting gaps for the entrance of the arrow, spear-blade, and sword-points.

The seal of Henry de Ferneburg, liegeman of the

¹ See Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 84.

² See Demmin, p. 131.

³ *Ib.*, p. 144.

Abbot of Glastonbury, *temp.* Henry I, bears his effigy, equipped with shield and pick-formed martel; and a like weapon is also held by William Fitz Otho on his seal engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1796, p. 289. I know not, however, where to look for an existing example of such a *martel-de-fer* but in my own little armoury, which contains a fine and almost perfect specimen, recovered from the Thames near the site of Baynard's Castle, in 1847, and is now placed before you. It is of massive fabric, weighs 2 lbs. 2 ozs., and now measures over $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, but must originally have been full 12 inches. It is nearly $1\frac{1}{3}$ inch thick, and quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide in the centre, where there is a rectangular aperture for the haft, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, by $1\frac{1}{3}$ inch long. The under side of the weapon is concave, the upper convex, and gradually thinning off to a cutting edge at either end, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, like the brazen war-hammer found at Thuringen. On the upper side, near the haft hole, is stamped the manufacturer's sign or mark, a gothic **M**, surmounted by a heart. The date of this deadly weapon can scarcely be later than about the middle of the twelfth century. (See Plate III, fig. 1.)

I have another *martel-de-fer* which I also venture to assign to the twelfth century, although it differs much in fashion from the one just described. It is in some degree of the pickaxe type, the upper surface being convex, and the horns of equal length, but each of these terminate in a blade, sharp not only at the extremity but also below, and therefore having the character of a short strong knife. One of these blades is rolled back, from having struck against some unyielding substance, and the weapon, in its present distorted condition, measures but $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. In the centre of the horizontal portion of this martel is a strong flat-sided tang, about 3 inches long, which was driven into a wooden haft, and secured by a ring or collar. This rare relic of war-strife was exhumed in Moorfields, April 1865. (See Plate III, fig. 2.)

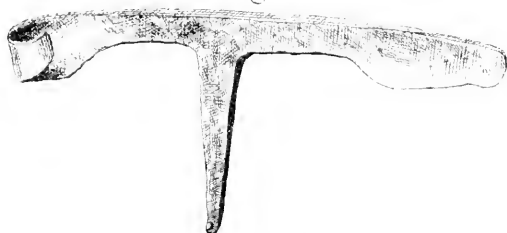
Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, gives a facsimile of a drawing of the time of Henry III, representing a combat between Walter Blowberne and Hamon le Starre, both of whom are armed with shields and martels, but the points of the weapons are more wedge-shaped

Fig. 1



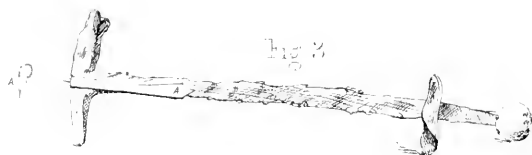
Found in the Thames

Fig. 2.



Found in Moorfields

Fig. 3



Found in Wolvesey Castle, Hampshire.

Fig 4



16th Century

than those delineated in the before cited seals, or in the actual examples I have produced. In the old laws regulating such duels as the one copied into Madox's work, the weapon allotted to each party is described as a *justic cornuta*, a horned club or staff, a most apt title for the pick-formed *martel-de-fër*.

In Malvern Church, Gloucestershire, is a highly interesting monumental effigy of a knight of the time of Henry III, who is armed with a martel, which combines in itself the pick and hammer type of weapon, one end shelving to a point, the other being broad and flat-faced; and a weapon of the same kind was found at Fatlips Castle, Symington, Lanarkshire, and represented in our *Journal* (xvii, p, 209). It is 5 inches in length, and is perforated towards either end, thus indicating that it was fixed on to a furcated haft.

The next martel claiming attention is brought to our notice by the Rev. C. Collier, of Andover. It is a very fine example of its class, and presents some curious features for consideration. The head has at one end a pick, at the other a claw-hammer, and to the side is secured a long hook, by which the weapon was hung at the saddle-bow. The shaft is of iron, terminating in a hilt like that of a sword, with round pommel, and guard-plate flattened on one side, so that the weapon might lay close to the steed. The leading characters of this rare martel indicate that it was wrought in the fifteenth century. Mr. Collier states that it was exhumed at the foot of the round tower in the ruined Castle of Wolvesey, in Hampshire; and I may add that the queries suggested by its discovery have called the present paper into existence. (See Pl. III, fig. 3.)

From the close of the thirteenth, down to the seventeenth century, the heads of martels offer a goodly diversity of forms, the picks being made of very variable lengths, some being denominated *bec-de-falcon*, from their resemblance to the mandibles of that bird. On the opposite side to the pick we find axe and adze-blades, crescents, knobs, and hammers, the faces of the latter being at times quadripartite, as may be seen by reference to Skelton's *Meyrick*, pl. 91, and Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 436. But in spite of all the mutations of design which accompanied the martel during its progress from

distant to later times the primal type was never altogether abandoned, and in a Harleian MS. (No. 4379) of the fifteenth century is depicted a tournament between sixty combatants, one of whom is armed with a long-handled maul or mallet; and a like weapon, of lead, with haft 5 feet in length, is engraved in the preface to Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, p. 51, fig. 3. Some such a maul as this, we may presume, is referred to in the following lines descriptive of an old battle:—

“Foemen fiercely wage the strife,
Thirsting for each other's life.
Piercing lance all crimson dyed
With the life's blood flowing tide,
Falehion keen with gory blade,
Tell the tale of death they've made,
Whilst the warriors quickly fall
'Neath the ponderous axe and maul.”

The next *martel-de-fer* to which I invite attention, was assigned by the late Sir Samuel Meyrick to the sixteenth century, and which formed part of the Museum in the Castle of Friedrichsberg, once the property of the Princess Christina of Waldeck and Pyrmont. One half of this weapon consists of a quadrangular spike or pick, with bevelled edges, the other of a spade-shaped blade, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the edge, set at the end of a stem, the two portions emerging from a central ring, which fitted on to an iron haft. The extreme length of the head is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On the upper surface of the blade are stamped three rosettes, a mark or embellishment to be seen on German arms and armour of that period. (See Pl. III, fig. 4.)

The war-hammer has been employed for ages in the East, where it is generally made entirely of metal. Among the Persian arms engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick* (pl. 136) is a *martel-de-fer* somewhat like the one held by the Malvern effigy, in so far as it consists of a curved spike or horn, and a hammer, but the face of the latter is convex. This specimen is damascened with gold, but not near so richly as others I have examined.

The martel is not entirely unknown among the tribes of Oceania. In the group of South Sea weapons forming the vignette in Skelton's *Meyrick* is a martel of yellow wood from New Caledonia, which is bent forward at the head and wrought into a conical point, with an echinated

collar round its base. A weapon of this type is engraved in Wilkes' *United States Exploring Expedition* (iii, p. 343), where it is described as a Feejee *toka*; and arms of allied form are called in the *Sale Catalogue* of the Dawson Museum, pineapple headed clubs from New Hebrides. In the same collection were what were denominated scimitar clubs, from Ysabel, which may be classed with the *malga* delineated in Mitchell's *Australia* (ii, p. 267), and which our old law writers might justly have designated *fustis cornuta*, although they might have been unwilling to sanction its employment in trial by battle.

The martel, whether of stone, metal, or wood, either in its simpler forms of a hammer and a pick, or when of more complex design, seems to be one of the most terrible percutient implements ever devised by man wherewith to wage the savage fight. Alike amid the rude and polished nations of the world it has remained a cherished weapon through long succeeding centuries, and bids fair to so continue, until that glorious era shall arrive when strife shall be banished from the earth, and its warriors "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks".

DOZMARE POOL, CORNWALL.

BY JOHN BRENT, F.S.A.

(Read February 4, 1880.)

IN one of the wildest districts of Cornwall—a land treeless, riverless, a level of bog and moor, where, excepting the “Jamaica Inn” and two or three cottages scattered widely over the expanse—is situated a small lake called Dozmare Pool. It lies on a table-land at the base of a hill or tor called Bran Gilly, and is located at a height of about 900 feet above the level of the sea. If the sky be bright, as the traveller approaches it from Launceston he catches from afar a glimpse of the clear, silver water flashing above the dark moorland. The Pool is about a mile in circumference, and of oval shape. Of late years a building has been erected upon its bank, for the purpose of storing ice, when the winter has been inclement enough to have permitted of its being collected from the lake. It is situated about eleven miles from Launceston. The “Jamaica Inn”, where tourists often make their resting-places, is about a mile and a half distant from the Pool.

This piece of water is generally considered to be the traditional lake into which Sir Bedivere hurled Arthur’s sword, Excalibar, after having twice deceived the dying King when he lay somewhere in the neighbourhood, his life fast ebbing away from the mortal wound he had received in the dreadful battle of Lyonness, wherein the greater part of the chivalry of Britain, the Knights of the Round Table, perished with him. The loneliness of the spot is well described in the *Morte d’Arthur* of Tennyson,—a place “where no man hath been since the making of the world.” Here, rising from the lake as Escalibar flashed through the air in its descent to the waters, was once seen the arm

“Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
That caught him by the hilt and brandished him
Three times, and drew him under in the mere.”

And here it was when Arthur, hither borne by the same knight, lay on the margin of the lake,

“There hove in sight a dusky barge,
Dark as a funeral scarf from stem to stern.”

It was filled with stately forms, and amongst them were “three queens with crowns of gold”, who, when they beheld the condition of the dying King, set up a cry of agony. They bore off Arthur on their barge, and Sir Bedivere remained long watching them, until the hull

“Looked one black dot against the verge of dawn,
And on the mere the wailing died away.”

Of course the size of the lake is exaggerated, and the reply of the knight to Arthur, after he had concealed the sword in the rushes, that he saw nothing but “the waves wap and the waters wan”, as given in the prose *Morte d'Arthur*, is more strictly correct than the poet's allusion to the “water lapping the crag”, for there are no crags; the smooth, quiet lake shallows up without a bank to its margin of turf and sand. Camelot may be the Camelford of the present era; and Lyonness, whereat Arthur contended with Modred, could not, to make the story consistent, be far distant. The locality where Arthur fell is said, according to some authors, to have been at Slaughter Bridge, in Cornwall, near Tintagel, about one mile from Camelford; and Lyonness was situated off Scilly, near the Land's End.

We must not look for exactness to the composer of the prose *Morte d'Arthur*, nor even for the smallest knowledge of geography. A strange confusion exists in the localities of the last scenes connected with Arthur and his final disappearance. When Sir Modred assumes to be king of England, he lands at Dover, “makes a Parliament”, and is crowned at Canterbury. All this wears a very modern dress. Arthur, in pursuit of him, arrives at Dover with a great fleet. He fights with Modred on Barham Downs, and the latter being defeated flees to Canterbury. However, Modred is again speedily in arms with a large army, and another great battle ensues on a down near Salisbury. In this encounter Modred is slain, and Arthur mortally wounded.

The scene then suddenly shifts to the west. We are not informed of the precise locality of the lake over which Morgan le Fay presided, and from which Arthur departed into the Vale of Avilion “to heal him of his grievous

wound", but we are led to assume it lay near Camelot, and was in Cornwall. Nevertheless, Avalon, or Avilion, is said by some authorities to have been a submerged island off the coast of Brittany. Mr. Whittaker is the great authority for the authenticity of the British Arthur. "The whole island", he says, "in spite of numerous fables, is in traditionary possession of his character, and hundreds are distinguished by his name. The historic Arthur is said to have been the son of Uther Pendragon, a British king, born A.D. 502." Arthur having subdued many nations, and founded the Round Table, died of his wounds A.D. 542. His tomb, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, was discovered A.D. 1189, at Glastonbury, bearing a Latin inscription, "Here lies the famous King Arthur, buried in the Vale of Avalon." Henry II is said to have exhumed the body of the king, who was found buried in the trunk of a tree with his beautiful queen beside him, with her long, flowing hair bright as gold. The bones of the king were large; his skull exhibited the marks of ten wounds.¹

I visited the lake on a bright day towards the close of last September, and I felt a contrast to the Kentish scenery with which I am familiar,—the cottage homes and rich corn and hop lands. Of a winter's day, when the sun is obscured, and the bleak wind is sweeping over the moorland, and as we step upon the bog and peat saturated with moisture, and in some places black in hue, with a sparse vegetation around,—a land almost flowerless even in summer,—we feel truly the force of the old Kentish epithet, that it is an "elling" place, a spot dismally lonesome; and if all legends and tales be true, "a spirit haunted locality". Yes, it is haunted, as the peasantry who inhabit its neighbourhood once believed, although they may have grown less credulous in modern times. The principal tradition relates how one Tregeagle, a lord of the soil hundreds of years since, a man rich and powerful, guilty of dark and fearful crimes, lived near this weird

¹ We fear the above account has no claim to exempt it from the other Arthuric fables. Arthur, his exploits, and his prophet Merlin, are also said to be indigenous to Brittany; and not long since the peasantry, at their country *fêtes*, would dance to the refrain, "Arthur is not dead." The *Morte d'Arthur* is generally supposed to have been composed by Sir Thomas Malory, who took the incident from French, Welsh, and English romances: hence, perhaps, the great anachronisms that occur in time and place.

lake. His spirit haunts the neighbourhood still. He had, in order to enjoy the good things of the world during the present life, bartered away, like another Faustus, his soul to the Evil One. Of course his master takes a delight in tormenting him. He has to make ropes of sand, and to empty the Pool itself with a limpet-shell. At times Satan enjoys the recreation of hunting, and pursues Tregeagle over bog and moor with his fearful hell-hounds. The howls of the unfortunate victim are often heard by the peasants in the wild and stormy winter nights, and many a mother clasps her child closer to her breast when the wind beats against the windows of her cottage. One peasant recites how he hears the cracking of whips as strange lights are seen to flash across the moors, and leap from one tuft of heath to another. Deep in the lake-waters lie the walls of the submerged mansion-hall of Tregeagle, like the ruined towers of other days in Lough Neagh; and it is said, the night being clear, the waters unruffled, the moon at the full, they are even now discernible by those who look for them long enough. Sometimes Tregeagle manages a temporary escape from his tormentor. He has only to run hard enough, and to reach, near the Roche Rock, by Camelford, a certain chapel sixteen miles distant. There, should he be able to thrust his head and shoulders into one of the hallowed windows, he is secure for a time. Another account records that Tregeagle was an unjust steward, who maltreated the tenants under his charge at St. Breock.

There is also, for the scientific man, a certain interest attached to this lonely little lake. From time to time a number of little flakes of flint, worked and often curiously incised, have been found on the sand which partly forms the margin of the Pool, or on the land immediately adjoining it. Arrow-heads of flint, well defined, have also been discovered. Flint is utterly foreign to the soil or its geological condition. There is no flint within forty miles of the spot, so it must have been conveyed hither by the workers in stone of a remote era. For what purposes, the arrow-heads excepted, the ancient artificers of a stone period wrought these curious flakes, some of which are so very minute that we can hardly guess to what use they could be applied, is one of those archæological problems which it is difficult to solve.

THE ROUND TOWERS OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read August 1879.*)

THE district in which we are assembled is one which brings before us in an especial manner the peculiar designs of the towers of the churches. The usual square towers, so familiar elsewhere in England, less frequently meet us here. Travelling from Burgh to Belton, to Fritton, at Herringfleet, at Astley, Multon, and other places at hand, we find that the church towers are circular in form. These are all good typical examples of these peculiar structures, and vary in date and in mode of construction only to the degree observable in the others scattered so extensively through Norfolk and Suffolk. It is hardly to be expected that our Congress should be held in the midst of the district where most of these structures are to be found, without our attention being drawn to them.

Not to occupy time by calling attention to many strange but delusive theories which have been gravely set forth, I propose only briefly to review the facts that have been adduced by various writers, and then to advance some further evidence. These have been so ably brought to a focus by my late lamented predecessor, Mr. Edward Roberts, that I need only quote a few remarks from his paper, printed in our *Journal*,¹ where there is a list of some hundred and seventy-five examples.

The following facts, structurally, have been deduced. The towers are, as a general rule, about three diameters in height. Their position is at the west end of their respective churches. They have no staircases of stone. They are built so generally of the rough local materials as to justify the belief that their peculiar form was to dispense with worked freestone quoins which every square tower requires,—an advantage of very great service in a

¹ "On the Round Towers of Churches in East Anglia", by Edward Roberts, F.S.A., vol. xvi, p. 162.

district where freestone is scarce. The walls are about 4 feet 6 inches thick, and there is no western door, the approach being only from the church by the tower-arch.

The architectural features of what have been called the earliest indicate Norman times, and Mr. Roberts assigns the period of their erection from A.D. 1100 to 1150 ; and there are examples of all later dates until the fashion changed, the transition to the ordinary fifteenth and sixteenth century square towers being marked by various erections either wholly octagonal, or with the upper stage of that form, and the lower portion circular. There is, however, nothing whatever in these facts to arrive at what is of the most interest to us. How does it come that these peculiar towers are found in this district, and only elsewhere in England by such few examples as by their very presence to point to East Anglia as their home ? In other districts the use of the circular form would have saved the same labour of preparing the quoins for our square towers ; and while we find that this form was well known, yet it was not adopted elsewhere.

Mr. Roberts' list points well to the truth already referred to, that the limits of the old Saxon kingdom of East Anglia contain the vast number of the examples, Norfolk having more than Suffolk. By comparison of the dedications of the church it is also apparent that while there are so many dedicated to favourite Norman saints, yet there are many called after Saxon saints, or after those popular in Saxon times. We can imagine that in lapse of time and of races the names of earlier saints would give place to later ones ; but it is not apparent that the Normans would erect new churches, and dedicate them to Saxon saints. The Saxon origin of these towers is, therefore, pointed to by evidence worthy of all attention.

The objection has been raised, that none of these towers exhibit Saxon workmanship. Were this so, the theory I have adduced would be weakened ; but it would still rest upon the evidence I have brought forward. There are, however, two towers which will be visited by this Association : the first, Flixton Church, Suffolk ; and the second, St. Julian's Church, Norwich. Both these churches will be found to be of Saxon date, and at both places churches are known to have existed in Saxon times.

Flixton has been rebuilt in recent years, and we can, therefore, only study the sketch and the description given by Suckling. These well attest its Saxon date. It figures in the list of Saxon churches in several architectural works; and, indeed, its style is incontestable. St. Julian's Church has also a tower too lofty for Norman work, and with deeply splayed windows in the exterior. Other examples might be named; but these are well known, and come within the range of our observations. We are, therefore, able to shew that round towers were erected in Saxon times; and that while there are none so early elsewhere existing, the earliest known examples in East Anglia are of Saxon date.

My predecessor paid special attention to the remarkable tower at Herringfleet; and, indeed, it deserves it, for it is a remarkable monument of its class. The church to which it is attached is one of the simple, early Norman buildings frequently found in conjunction with these towers. The base of the tower is of the same date; and some of the detail of the belfry-stage, where the interest centres, is undoubtedly of the same period. Nevertheless, there is here the triangular arch repeated again and again, the projecting pilasters, and the baluster-shafts,—all features of recognised Saxon style. These are so pronounced (the east window especially so), that we may accept one of two hypotheses,—the first, that the Normans rebuilt the tower, re-using these Saxon features of an older building; the second, that the tower was built in Norman times by masons accustomed to the older style, and that among the detail of the time, they worked the features familiar to them of an earlier period. In either case the evidence points to the prior existence of these circular towers before Norman times, and may be accepted as additional evidence to the two actual structures which I have named. The east window is so remarkable in its character, and appears to be so exactly in its original position, that I am sorry no opportunity has been at my disposal to examine if the base of the tower has been refaced in Norman times, leaving the old east window intact, and merely adding the outer margins of stone to the other windows, the small Norman loopholes, and other newer looking features of the same date. Cer-

tainly, from an external examination, the lower face appears of different colour and masonry to the upper belfry-stage.

I proceed to point out that there are other structural features, even in the examples of later date, which indicate the origin of the fashion of these towers to others than the Normans. I adduce two. The position of the churches is generally the favourite one of the Saxons, on the edge of a slope overlooking some extent of country. The proportion is not that of the low Norman towers, but of those of Saxon times, which were high for their breadth. In fact, the proportion of the Saxon square tower (say of Trinity Church, Colchester), seen from a little distance, would be exactly that of the circular towers under consideration. But it is probably of greater importance to point out that the origin of these towers may be found in the countries whence the Saxon races emigrated to our shores; and it is reasonable to suppose that in the time when both countries were alike Christian, that intercourse had not ceased.

It is foreign to my purpose to discuss the origin of the circular form in churches; but this form may be traced to the earliest times of Christianity. In addition to circular churches, the semicircular apse first appears, then apses in other positions than at the end of a building, and circular towers. Italy furnishes us, at Ravenna and elsewhere, with many examples. We can trace them in the churches of early date in Lombardy, Switzerland, Germany, and even in Denmark and the Orkney and Shetland Isles. These occur in all positions in relation to the buildings. France gave little or no favour, in early times, to these circular towers; but in Germany and the Rhine provinces they are common.

Many of the largest churches have two round towers at either the west, or east end, or at the transept. At Treves Cathedral there are two, at Mayence there are two, at Gernrode two, at Laach two, at Worms four, St. Paul's at Worms, two. While a vast number of examples (and to important buildings) can be cited, a series shewing the change of form to the later square and octagonal towers could readily be named. These have all a proportion lofty for the width; and we find some remarkable

features of detail common in the Saxon churches of our own country.

Here, then, is important evidence that East Anglia is not alone in the possession of circular towers, and that these are found in the district on the opposite side of the German Ocean.

Two objections may be raised. That these examples are, for the most part, attached to other parts of a building, and not exactly as here, to one tower at the west end. This is so in some examples I have named, but not in all; and due allowance must be made between a large church where two or more would be fitting, and small buildings here, where one is sufficient. In both alike the round form is found. The old plan of the Abbey of St. Gall, built by an Irishman in A.D. 820 (Mabillon says that Eginard was his architect), has two round towers quite detached from the church.

Another objection may be, that if these towers are of ancient Continental introduction, how is it that they are not found in other parts of England? I believe that they were so used in Saxon times. There are many examples of circular Saxon towers shewn in the old MSS. The staircase at the west end of Brigstock Church is of Saxon date. It is circular in form; and were it to stand alone, it would resemble a round tower very nearly. The same may be said of the similar turret of Brixworth Church.

The form was retained in this portion of England, for one reason, long after Saxon times, for the great advantage it possessed for the use of the rough material of the district, no angle-quoins being necessary, as well as for habit sake. It occurs, however, in so many churches where freestone is used in fair abundance, that we cannot assign the former as the *only* reason.² Then, again, the workers in flint have produced many well executed angles in this latter

¹ I am willing to consider it as probable that the few examples in Essex, Berkshire, etc., are likely to have originated from the knowledge of the later ones in Suffolk and Norfolk, rather than from any remembrance of their use in Saxon times. The influence of Lewis Priory, connected with Castle Acre, Norfolk, is sufficient to account for the examples at Lewis and its neighbourhood.

² The intermediate form of church towers in the Norfolk and Suffolk district, between the earlier round towers and the later square ones, is octagonal in form, requiring double the amount of freestone for the quoins.

material without the aid of freestone quoins, as, for instance, in the ruined chapel at Elmham, and in the series of small Norman arches forming a blank arcade around the circular tower of Thorington Church. It has also to be noted that much of the rough material even has been brought from afar.

Lord Dunraven has recently published the results of his father's researches in old Irish buildings; and by a process of somewhat similar reasoning he traces the round towers of Ireland from those of the Continent; and he adduces a vast amount of information on the circular towers there, which may be consulted with much profit to this inquiry, for it applies equally, if not more so, to these round towers than to those of Ireland.

It may be of interest to bear in mind that this district furnishes what may be a connecting link to these mysterious structures of Ireland. At Bradfield and at Bramfield, Suffolk, and at Little Snoring, Norfolk, the round towers, like the Irish examples, are entirely detached from the churches. So far as I know at present, none of the towers which remain possess the original covering. Probably they were similar to the conical roofs of the Irish examples; and this is the more likely, since it appears the most obvious completion, and is shewn so on the examples of circular towers represented in old MSS.

THE SAXON SHORE IN BRITAIN.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read August 1879.)

It is now very generally admitted that the Saxon conquest of Britain was not the result of a sudden invasion consequent upon the withdrawal of the Romans, but that for some time previously to the final conquest of Britain the eastern coast of that Island had been the scene of predatory raids by the tribes north of the Roman empire, who were included under the general name of Saxon. When the Emperor Diocletian commenced his reign over the Roman empire, A.D. 285, the presages of that storm, which was ere long to overwhelm southern Europe, were discernible, and having, in the second year of his reign, associated himself with Maximinian, he afterwards (A.D. 292), for the better protection of the empire, assailed on every side by the barbarians, admitted to a share of sovereign authority, under the inferior title of Cæsars, Gallorius and Constantius. These four princes distributed among themselves the Roman empire; the defence of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, being entrusted to Constantius. Previously to this division of the empire, Maximinian had recovered Gaul from the revolt of the peasants, and had lost Britain by the usurpation of Carausius (who was, previously to his revolt, specially commissioned by the Romans to repel the raids of the Saxons), upon whose death, at the hands of Allectus, A.D. 294, the Britons were defeated in a single battle by the Romans under the Prefect Asclepiodatus, and Constantius shortly afterwards landed on the shores of Kent, and restored Britain, after a separation of ten years, to the body of the Roman empire.

We learn from Gibbon that "one of the measures adopted by Diocletian for the security of the empire was that of strengthening the fortifications of the Roman limit; and that on the north, from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns,

and citadels, were diligently re-established, and in the most exposed places new ones were skilfully constructed." This must have had a powerful influence on the barbaric forces of the north. By damming back the aggressive spirit which had by this time become an irresistible impulse, it caused a series of raids upon the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and even as far as Spain; for the protection of which special precautions were required, the nature of which, so far as they relate to the coast of Britain, it is the object of this paper to explain.

The chief source of information on this subject is the *Notitia Imperii*, supposed to have been written in the reign of Valentinian III and Theodosius II, but by some in the beginning, by others at the latter end, of the reign of Theodosius. It contains an account of the state of the Roman empire in those times; of the provinces and their governors; the magistrates, civil and military; their land and sea forces, and the places where they were quartered. It was published by Guidus Pancerollus in the year 1595, under the title of *Notitia utraque Dignitatum tum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique Tempora*; i.e., a General Survey of the Dignities, both of the East and the West, beyond the Times of Arcadius and Honorius.¹

About the reign of Theodosius II,² the government of the empire was divided into four vice-royalties, or *præfecti prætorio*, for civil government,—one of the East, another of Illyricum, a third of Italy, and the fourth of Gaul, or *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, to whose superintendence both Britain and Spain were subject. Each of these *præfecti* had immediately under him, for civil government, *vicarii*, or lieutenants (or deputy governors), and sometimes *comites* (counts) or other such officers; but all made by the emperor. And the *præfectus Galliarum* had three *vicarii*, one for Spain, the second for Gaul, and the third for Britain; and the *vicarius Britanniarum*, whose ensigns, or *symbola administrationis*, were the draught of those five parts of Britain,—Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Valentia. Under this *vicarius* there were five that exercised jurisdiction, two *consulares* and three *præ-*

¹ A subsequent edition was published in 1623.

² Selden's *Titles of Honour*, 3rd ed.

sides, every one having one of these five parts for his province. They are thus mentioned in the *Notitia*,—"Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis, Vicarii Britanniarum. *Consulares*: Maximæ Cæsariensis, Valentiae. *Præsides*: Britanniae Primæ, Britanniae Secundæ, Flaviae Cæsariensis." These, with their subordinate officers, constituted the civil administration of Britain.

For the military, the *magister peditum præsentalis* and the *magister equitum præsentalis*, in the West, having the immediate power, under the emperor, over the horse and foot appointed for the defence of the provinces, and twelve dukes. The counts were of Italy, Africk, Tingitania, Tractus Argentoratensis (or the parts about Strasbourg), of Britain, and of the Saxon coast, or *comes littoris Sæconici*. The government of the *comes Britanniae* was in the southern part of the island. He had under him at the time when the *Notitia* was written, about 3,000 foot and 600 horse; and though there was a duke besides, yet it seems all that part of Britain which the Romans then had was generally under his care, and the duke's government was added for assistance to him.

It is with the *Littus Sæconicum* (the Saxon shore), and its government in Britain, that we have now to treat. This term is used by Selden and Camden to signify that part of the coast of Britain which was exposed to the incursions of the Saxons. Kemble, however, in his *Saxons in England*,¹ says "the term *Littus Sæconicum* has been explained to mean rather the coast visited by, or exposed to, the ravages of the Saxons than the coasts occupied by them; but against this loose system of philological and historical interpretation I beg emphatically to protest. As the *Littus Sæconicum*, on the mainland, was that district in which members of the Saxon confederacy were settled, the *Littus Sæconicum per Britannias* unquestionably derived its name from a similar circumstance."

Sandys, in his *History of Gavelkind*,² challenges Mr. Kemble's protest. During the period of the Roman occupation there was no permanent or general settlement of the Saxons on the shores of Britain. Camden says "they annoyed the coast of Britain"; and in speaking of Kent he says, "the sea-coast had (like the opposite shore from

¹ Vol. i, p. 13, ed. 1849.

² Ed. 1851, p. 28.

the Rhine to Xamoigne) a peculiar governor from the time of Diocletian, called by Marcellinus 'Count of the Sea-Coast', and by the *Notitia*, 'the Honourable the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain', whose particular business it was to fix garrisons on the sea-coast, in places convenient, to prevent the plunders of the barbarians, especially the Saxons, who heavily infested Britain." Selden says,¹ "the Comes Littoris Saxonici was an admiral", having, therefore, jurisdiction over the sea for the protection of the coast.

The primary source from which Camden, Hollinshed, and other historians drew their information is the Roman history of Ammianus Marcellinus; so much of which as is preserved to us commences with Book xiv, A.D. 353, during the reign of Cæsar Gallus to the death of Valens, A.D. 378. We learn from him that in A.D. 364, the Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Atacotti, harassed the Britons with incessant invasions; and that A.D. 368, Valentinian having left Amiens, and being on his way to Treves in great haste, received the disastrous intelligence that Britain was reduced by the ravages of the united barbarians to the lowest extremity of distress; that Nectaridus, the Count of the Sea-Coast (*Comes Maritimi Tractûs*), had been slain in battle, and the Duke Buchobaudes had been taken prisoner by the enemy in an ambushade; and that this led to Severus and Jovinus, and afterwards to Theodosius, being sent over to Britain. Selden,² referring to this, says "Nectaridus was the Count of the Sea-Coast, or Maritime Marches, as they then called it, and that Buchobaudes first, and then Theodosius, were Dukes of Britain.

Marcellinus makes other references to the defeat of the Saxon invaders, but does not again refer to the *maritimus tractus*; but he says that "Theodosius routed and vanquished the various tribes, in whom their past security had engendered an insolence which led them to attack the Roman territories; and he entirely restored the cities and the fortresses which, through the manifold disasters of the time, had been injured or destroyed." We may gather from these references that the Saxons had not, during the Roman occupation of Britain, obtained a per-

¹ *Titles of Honour*, 3rd ed.

² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

manent settlement in this country as they had on the coast of Gaul, and that the jurisdiction of the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain was for the purpose of defence against invasion, and not for the government of Saxon settlers.

The jurisdiction of this Count extended from Shoreham in Sussex to Brancaster on the north coast of Norfolk. His title was *Vir Spectabilis*, usually translated "Honourable", but which signified, under the emperors, a chief officer of the second rank. The officers under him were—the general of foot in ordinary attendance (*principem ex officio magistri presentium ex parte peditum*), two auditors (*numerarii*), a master of the prisons (*commentariensis*), a secretary (*cornicularius*), an assistant (*adjutor*), an under-assistant (*subadjutor*), a registrar (*regerendarius*), transcribers (*exceptores*¹), writers (*singulares*¹), "et reliquos officiales". There were nine maritime towns under his jurisdiction, garrisoned by about 2,200 foot and 200 horse; thus stated in the *Notitia*: Othona, Dubris, Brano-duno, Gariaño, Regulbi, Rittupis, Anderidos, Portum Lemanni, Portum Adurni.

The first of these towns, commencing geographically, and not in the order mentioned in the *Notitia*, was Portus Adurni, where was stationed the commander of a detachment of scouts (*præpositus numeri exploratorum*); for though *numerus* is used generally for a company or cohort, it would seem more correct to translate it a detachment. This port was near what is now New Shoreham, near the river Adur, and is supposed by Camden to have been Ederington or Aldrington (which Alfred granted to his younger son), and is now Portslade, three miles north-east of New Shoreham, and five miles south-east of Steyning. Sandys, in his *History of Gavelkind*, calls Portus Adurni, Portsmouth; but this is evidently an error, though Mr. Thos. Wright says² "the garrisons of nine fortresses along the coast, from Porchester to Brancaster, were placed under the command of the Count of the Saxon

¹ Mr. T. Wright, in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, translates *exceptores*, clerks of appeal, and *singulares*, sergeants. I have taken the English equivalents for these terms from Scheller's Latin Dictionary, which refers to the Justinian and Theodosian codes.

² *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 257.

Shore." Mr. Gordon M. Hills, in his paper on the "Measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary",¹ says "the name Portus Adurni is retained to the present day in the river Adur, whose fort at Bramber was probably the station of the *Exploratores*."

The next town was Anderida, where was stationed the commander of a detachment of the Abulci (*præpositus numeri Abulcorum Anderidæ*). The exact site of this station has given rise to much controversy. Selden² says it is taken for Newenden in Kent; and Camden agrees with him, and says that the Britons called Newenden *Caer Andred*. He, however, quotes Somner,³ who thinks it was either Hastings or Pevensey. Mr. Thos. Wright, in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 143, says there can hardly be a doubt that it is Pevensey; and, speaking of the capture of Anderida by the Saxons, A.D. 491, says (p. 398) "the massive walls of the ancient city are still seen at Pevensey." Mr. Sandys⁴ reviews the authorities on this subject very fully, and arrives at the conclusion that the ancient British city Anderida was at Newenden, and the ancient Roman station, or *castrum*, of that name at Pevensey.

We next come to Portus Lemanni, where a detachment of soldiers of Tournay, under their commander (*præpositus numeri Turnacensium Lemannis*) was stationed. The remains of this fortress are still existing at Lymne, or Lympne, a parish partly within the liberty of Romney Marsh, but chiefly in the hundred of Street, in the lathe of Shepway in Kent, three miles west of Hythe, and seven south-east of Ashford, about a mile and a half north-east of the Westenhanger Station of the South-Eastern Railway. It is on the river Rother, formerly called *Limene* (the *Λιμνη* of Ptolemy), and was connected with Durovernum (Canterbury) by the Roman road, Stone Street, as shewn in the fourth *iter* of Antoninus. It is also connected with Dover (Dubris) in the fifteenth *iter* of Richard of Cirencester. Excavations on the site of this station were made about the year 1860, an account of which is given by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Antiquities of Rich-*

¹ Vol. xxxvii of *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, p. 308.

² *Titles of Honour*, 3rd ed.

³ *Ports and Forts*, pp. 104-5.

⁴ *History of Gavelkind*, p. 136 et seq.

borough, Reculver, and Lynne; and they are also referred to in Mr. Thos. Wright's description of a Roman town in Britain, which he gives in the fifth chapter of his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.

The next station was Dubris (Dover), where were stationed the Tungrian soldiers and their commander (*præpositus militum Tungracorum Dubris*). This town was directly connected with Durovernum, and is mentioned in the third *iter* of Antoninus, which is a description of the road from London to Dover.

The next station was the important town of Rutupiae, now Richborough, whose remains still exist, the wonder and admiration of all who are interested in the works of the Romans in this country. To describe them as they should be described would be beyond our present limits, and would only be a repetition of the learned and interesting account given by Mr. C. Roach Smith in the work before mentioned, and by Mr. T. Wright in illustration of his description of a Roman town. This was the station of a commander of the second legion, called *Augusta*, after the removal of that legion from Caerleon (Isca).¹ The castle, called in the *Notitia* "Ritupis", is in the parish of Ash, near Sandwich, two miles east of Wingham. It is situated on a hill near the river Stour, and commanded the port of Rutupiae, which was on the coast, either the modern Sandwich or Stonar. This port is the last station in the second *iter* of Antoninus; and is described in the first *iter* of Richard of Cirencester as "the first city in the island of Britain towards Gaul, situate amongst the Kentishmen from Gessoria-gum, the haven of Bononia (Bologne), whence is obtained the most convenient passage into the aforesaid island, distant ccccl stadia, or, as others say, XLVI miles." It bore the same relation, in those days, to Boulogne that Dover now does to Calais. The town and port were two distinct places, the port being mentioned in the *iter* of Antoninus. They are both named in the *Notitia* thus, "Rutupiae est oppidum Britannie, et Rutupie portus vulgo Sandonis dictus."

We now come to Regulbium (Reculver), the station of the first cohort of the Vetasians and their tribune ("tri-

¹ Mr. Gordon M. Hills, in his paper referred to above, puts the early station of this legion at Isca Dummoniorum (Dorchester).

bunus cohortis primæ Vetasiorum Regulbio”), on the north coast of the Isle of Thanet. This was connected with both Rutupię and Durovernum by the river Stour; but it did not communicate with these or any neighbouring towns by any of the Roman roads, though it is mentioned in the fifteenth *iter* of Richard of Cirencester; but, as Mr. Sandys points out,¹ no such road could have existed in the Roman period, as a great portion of the intermediate country was an impenetrable morass. If a Roman cohort were required to march from Regulbium to Durovernum, it must have sailed from the Wantsum Estuary to Rutupię, and thence have marched to Durovernum.

The seventh town was Othona, where was stationed a detachment of Fortenses with their commander (*præpositus numeri Fortensium Othonæ*). This town, Selden says,² is supposed to have been in the hundred of Dengy in Essex, at the same place, or near, where St. Peter’s in the Wall (now St. Peter’s Chapel) is. This is at the extreme north-east point of the promontory made by the junction of the river Blackwater with the sea. Camden suggests that this was the ancient city of Ithancaster, which stood upon the bank of the river Pant, that runs near Malden, but had since been swallowed up by that river; but some, he says, “think Ithancaster to have been seated in the utmost point of Dengy Hundred, where stands at present St. Peter’s on the Wall.” This station is not connected with any of the Roman roads, and is not mentioned in any of the itineraries.

The eighth station was Gariononum, in the immediate vicinity of Yarmouth in Norfolk. This was the station of the commander of the Stablesian horse, styled *Gario-nonensis*,—the commander of the mouth of the Garienis, the river now called Yare. This river has abandoned its ancient channel, and left no trace of its former course. It was a disputed point where the Roman station was situated. Camden and the generality of writers fix on Burgh Castle, on the Suffolk side of the river; and Sir Henry Spelman³ considers Caister, a small village four miles on the Norfolk side, the site of the ancient fortress. It is now very generally admitted that Burgh Castle, the mag-

¹ *History of Gavelkind*.

² *Titles of Honour*, 3rd ed.

³ *Icenia*, p. 154.

nificent remains of which still attest the importance of this station, is the ancient Garionomum ; and an interesting confirmation of this was given at our Society's recent visit to these ruins, by the Rev. Dr. Raven, who, whilst acting as our guide, mentioned that horses' teeth in considerable numbers had been dug up within the walls.

This brings us to the last station under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore, Brandonunum (Brancaster). Here the Dalmatian horse, under their commander, styled *Branodunensis* (*præpositus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensis, Branoduno*), were placed. Brancaster is a village four miles to the west of Burnham Market, and eight from Hunstanton. It is situate on the coast of the German Ocean, on a bay of its own name, and commands the coast and the entrance to the Wash. The ditch and some stones of the old fortress are still left. It is situate to the east of the village, above a marsh which is at spring tides covered by the sea, and originally covered over six acres of ground ; but the ravages of time have been hastened by the spoliation of man, and the stones of the fortress have been used in the erection of a malthouse in the village, standing on an area of 300 feet by 31 feet. Roman antiquities, consisting of coins, urns, and knives, have been found. On the coast in front of the marsh, and extending for some distance westward, is a submerged forest, only to be seen at low water at the spring tides, when the stumps of trees (some in a good state of preservation) and trunks, which have been felled and laid parallel with the shore, are seen as though they had been used as a protection against invasion, or to prevent their giving shelter to an invading force. Bones of deer have been found, but as yet no traces of man.

NOTES ON THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

(Read November 1879.)

A LITERARY task more difficult than a condensed paper on the Isle of Man and its antiquities could scarcely be proposed. A spot so enriched with geological and archaeological treasures, so permeated with mysticism, so full of legend and folklore, with political institutions and constitutional usages unchanged for a thousand years, demands more than the few minutes' space given for our paper. To us Southerners the Island is little known. Its northern latitude, its gray skies, and treeless hills, are uninviting; yet I venture the remark, that, once visited, its attractions are sufficient to create a longing desire to visit it again. The waters of the Gulf stream create a climate with less liability to extremes of cold or heat than localities in more southern latitudes, and greater repute. The fuchsia, hydrangia, geranium, and other favourites, generally remain without shelter the winters through, unless unusually severe; and though strong winds may forbid the growth of trees on the hills, groves thicken in the valleys, with ferns and flowers. Note the grand sweep of coast from Peel to Castletown Bay, where seas deep and transparent roll or rush in eddying current, fierce and remorseless, under gigantic cliffs worn or torn into many a fantastic shape, and echoing ever with tales of shipwreck and legends of disaster; or, from Port Erin, on a stormy day, climb those heights over against the Sound, until you shall command half the province, backed by the North and South Barrule Mountains, with Snæfell high above Ramsey, their flanks sloping to the shore by Castletown, indented by bays, stretching in promontories all fringed by the foam of ocean's everlasting roll,—and islets like anchored barks, the wrecks and trophies of elemental war,—yon slopes, here in sunshine, there in shadow, rich in colour of greenery or corn, relieved by points of light reflected from whitened walls of cottages

and homesteads. The shadows creep and deepen as clouds hurrying from the Irish Sea pour forth their hissing rain, and darken the fair scene below. They break in shattered fragments, and fleeing before the gale, rally upon the enclosing mountain peaks, their depths and fringes illuminated, and glowing as molten gold; and above, upheaved to the very zenith by the setting sun, stretching right across from cliff to mountain, shines heaven's own arch in clearest, deepest hues.

As he who watches sunrise from Bradda Head, and looks to the Irish coast, may chance to see two summits of the Mourne Mountains lighted by the morning, but as yet far separated by the lingering shadows, just so are our earliest notices of the Island. In the fifth book of the *Gallie War*, Cæsar, in his brief way, says, "in the middle of the Channel dividing Ireland from Britain there is an Island called Mona"; and Polydore Vergil, in 1470, writes, "There are manie iles adjacent to Britagne, and two of indifferent fame.—the one called the Isle of Wighte, beinge against the south bancke of Englonde; the other ilonde being somewhat famous, is the Ile of Mone or Man". And between these points, how varied and deeply interesting the historic procession. Pliny, Orosius, and other writers, modify the name as Monabia, Menavia, Eubonia. The Northmen called it "Mann". The *a* is sounded broadly, and may, perhaps, be referred to the Sanscrit root, *mân*, to think or meditate religiously. The root is the same as that from which some famous names have derivation, as Mânna, son of Brahma, or Menes. Manau or Mona, therefore, signified "the isle of the holy wise men", *i.e.* Druids; and, quoting from the late Dr. Cumming, M.A., F.G.S. (bearing in mind the other Mona, Anglesey, the Druidical stronghold), a legendary ballad of the sixteenth century, which runs,—"*Mannanan Beg Mac y Lheirr*" (or *Liüle Mannanan, Son of the Sea*), the first who held Man, was the ruler thereof, after whom the land was named. He reigned many years, and was a Paynim. He kept the Island under a mist by his necromancy. If he dreaded an enemy he could make one man appear a hundred by his magic art." Mannanan is said to have been converted by the Apostle of Ireland, *cir.* 447.

And so passed the Druidical cycle, leaving its small

stone circles, its kistvaens, and its traditions and beal-fires. Scot, Scoto-Irish, and Welsh, each played their parts till the coming of the stronger Northmen, who conquered, settled, and gave character to their conquests, sufficiently distinct in men, manners, and customs, in our own day. In the ninth century the Scandinavian power was rapidly extending in Britain and the Western Isles, and in A.D. 888 Harold Haarfager invaded and won the Isle of Man. For three generations his house ruled, and then the burden of tyranny became too great; when, in the tenth century, came King Orrey, a Dane, whose name even now is a household and territorial word. A welcome deliverer, the Manx asked whence he came, and pointing to the Milky Way he said, "That is the road to my country." The Manx name for the great belt of stars is still "Raad mooar Ree Gorree", *i.e.*, the great road of King Orrey.

To Man this Scandinavian king was an Alfred. After securing to Man tranquillity, he originated the political constitution of the island, dividing it into six "sheadings" (*shey-things*), and establishing the meeting of the "Tynwald", or estates of the island. We find the derivation in *thing* (a popular assembly, or court of justice) and *vold* (a bank or rampart). Palgrave says "The ancient Scandinavian courts were held generally in the open air, on hills, or an artificial mound. Their colonies adopted the same practice: hence many eminences retain the syllable *ding* or *ting*, as Dingwalt, the Icelandic Tingvalla, and Tinwald Hill in Dumfriesshire. The original Tynwald Hill overlooks Glen Helen, not far from the present, in St. John's, on the road to Peel, which is also said to have been built with earth brought from each parish in the island. The base of the hill is 240 feet in circumference, and four grassy platforms rise from this, each 3 feet higher than its base, surmounted by a flagstaff. Upon these platforms meet, on the 5th of July, the States of Man; the Lieutenant-Governor occupying the uppermost, then the Council, the Deemsters, and last and lowest, the House of Keys. Thus, for a thousand years, the Tynwald has assembled to give force to its own laws; for no writ from the English courts runs in Man without sanction of the insular legislature.

Of the four Estates, that of Deemster is most ancient, being, it is believed, a judgeship of Druidical origin, and is regarded as a direct descent of Druidical custom. There are two officers,—one for the northern, the other for the southern division, who make oath “they will deem the law truly, as they will answer to the Lord of the Isle.” The House of Keys, answering to our Commons, consists of twenty-four members, “men of the Isle”, deriving the name from “kiarc as feed”, Manx for twenty-four; otherwise “Taxiaxi”, or Elders. They hold office for life, and have appellate jurisdiction in civil causes. The first mentioned historical record of Tynwald was in 1417, when Sir John Stanley, king and lord of Man, assembled the worthiest of the land to meet his deemsters, or judges, to declare the law of old time to the people from Tynwald Hill. After and from this period the laws were committed to writing; before, the laws were in the memory of the Deemsters.

However much, for the purposes of history, the absence of records before 1417 may be regretted, the truth meets us, that Tynwald courts in yearly succession stretched on from King Orry to Queen Victoria;—yes, and under various masterships. The last of the Scandinavian rulers died in 1263, when Magnus of Norway ceded his rights and Man to Alexander III of Scotland, who, on the subjugation of the island, instituted the present arms,—*gules*, three legs of man in armour, conjoined in fesse at the upper part of the thighs, flüged in triangle, garnished and spurred *or*, with the motto surrounding, “Quocunque jeceris stabit”; superseding the more ancient device on the seal of Hacon,—a ship in her ruff, or sail hoisted. At the death of Alexander, in the ensuing period of confusion, the Manx placed themselves under the protection of our Edward I. In 1406 Edward III granted the Island for life (subsequently, in 1407, enlarging the grant to perpetuity) to Sir John Stanley, to be held in virtue of presenting a cast of falcons at the kings’ coronation.¹ The Stanleys assumed the title of King and Queen of the island, but relinquished it in 1405, saying “it is better to be a great lord than a little king.” Their powers, how-

¹ I saw this year, at Port Erin, a young and beautiful falcon from Spanish Head, intended as a present to the Queen.

ever, were more than regal; and their rule, though stringent, seems (from documents existing) to have inspired a deep attachment and devoted loyalty. You will find the Stanley crest upon the old coinage,—the falcon and cap of maintenance. The last of the Stanleys, Lords of Man, was James, who died in 1735; the last of an illustrious house which had governed the island more than three hundred years. In the failure of heirs male, the Duke of Athol (descended in the female line) became Lord of Man. The fourth Duke, who died in 1830, rendered the cast of falcons on the coronation of George IV. The A, surmounted by a ducal coronet, appears on the coinage during the Athol rule. The purchase of the island by the British Government substituted on the currency the portrait of Queen Victoria, with a reverse of the arms of Alexander III, the well known three legs of Man.

Before passing to another subject, it should be noted that to the year 1828, Man possessed a paper, or, strictly speaking, a cardboard, currency (answering to our tradesmen's tokens of the reign of George III) issued and redeemable by certain tradesmen in the chief towns. Our very respected Vice-President, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, has in his museum two specimens, one for 2s. 6*d.*, the other for 1*s.*, the value, and acceptor's name being plainly printed on larger and smaller rounds of cardboard; and there seems to have been little protection from forging.

*Runic Monuments.*¹—These interesting memorials of Danish occupation, in various forms, are plentifully scattered throughout the island. They tell us the Scandinavian made a home in Man,—a secure because strong, and an ordered home. Hacon, who gave arms to the island first, is said to have been a chief (an admiral) leading more than three hundred ships. Quoting Dr. Cumming,—“we have in the Manx fishing-boats the type and descendants of the Norsemen.” They are unlike French, Cornish, Deal, or Irish. They have a form of their own; and meeting the first out at sea, the writer likened them to a flock of sea-birds—sea-swallows in fact—with long, red, sharp-cut sails, and swiftly moving hulls endowed with the very poetry of motion. With such vessels, find-

¹ “See the lines graven round; all are Runic, mystic inscriptions full of wizard power to ward off ill.”

ing a harbour of defence or refuge in every creek, the early Norsemen kept the seas.

There are many mysterious buildings, scarcely buildings, indeed, remaining in the fields (one is in Peel Castle yard), called *Treen Chapels*. These are honey for legendary bees. Let us sweep these away; let us ask what are these remains? Can we by analogy determine? An old ballad refers them to the earliest Christian times, so far back as the fifth century; but some are evidently later. They are found in each parish, and by some writers are supposed to be oratories; but the dimensions of many are so very small as scarcely to lead to this conclusion. Externally, some of them approach the Irish rath, especially that one within Peel Castle; circular in shape, stone built, frequently ornamented with rude carvings; and where in tolerable preservation, possessing a narrow entrance. By other authorities than the quoted, they are said to have been used as burial-places, and I believe are so spoken of in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. In the parish of Marown is a "chapel", and on one of its wall-stones are two designs of two circles within a wider and outer circle; and another with straight lateral mouldings issuing from a central straight line. The writer inclines to the theory of Scandinavian origin, though, doubtless, some belonged to a later period. Perhaps they may have been oratories attached to family burial-places.

The Runic crosses of Man are prominent in interest as they are prominent by number. So many are not found in any other part of Britain. As memorials of the Christian dead, they mark the purity and simplicity of early faith in omitting requests for prayer on behalf of departed spirits, and retaining the name of the great Author of our faith.¹ The erection of the crosses dates from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Have all earlier memorials perished? Certainly Manxmen have not been conservative archaeologists, and very many insular monuments have perished through neglect and violence; and, doubtless, many crosses too; yet these would have filled

¹ As on a slab at Onchan, sculptured with monstrous animals, in rough Runes. "... son of ... erected ... cross to Mirgiol his wife, mother of Hugigud, Haukr, and Athigrid ... Thurid engraved ... Runes ... Jesus Christ."

the vacancy between the last of the heathenish age and the youthful vigour of Christianity in the tenth century. The small stone circles surrounding the low stone cyst with pebbled floor, mark the era of Thor worship. Christianity was preached in the sixth century ; but memorials are wanting,—memorials of its growth and conquest extending over four hundred years ; unless, indeed (and it may be so), some of the small and primitive churches of Man, into the walls of which have been built too often the Runic crosses and inscribed stones, occupy the sites and foundations of the very earliest Christian structures. The supposition rests on the plan of these small churches,—a nave only,—and that the crosses, or parts of crosses, found frequently in their walls had been taken from the ancient cemetery. And how impressive is the shadowed silence of some of these cemeteries, wherein for a thousand years the Christian dead have slept ! The twilight seclusion of Kirk Braddan is fit, indeed, for its noble group of crosses. Rescued from neglect and degradation, three of them are placed centrally, and others against the church or church wall. The most striking is the centre monolith, 56 inches high, ornamented on three sides with elaborate knotwork and fish, and on the fourth inscribed with Runes from the bottom upward, “Thorlaf Neaki erected this cross to Fjak his son, brother’s son to Iabr.” Professor Münck decides that two characters or alphabets were employed, an older and later, more allied to the Scandinavian than Anglo-Saxon forms.

Representations of animals, possible and impossible, are found on most monuments, and also fish ; and I would offer a suggestion that *the* fish is the conger-eel, now a staple of island industry. The form, as carved, favours this theory ; the heads of the fish have a resemblance. There is a natural elegance in the fish. In the hands of the artist this elegance would develop to beauty. The *dictum* of Professor Ruskin adds weight to the suggestion. Early nations adapted familiar forms to architectural decoration. The Norse and Saxon took the curled kail-leaf as a type for their carved capital ; the Greek, his acanthus ; and the Norse drew his achievement of beauty from the sea, on which he lived, and within sound of which he sleeps.

These Runic crosses take various forms, columnar, round-headed, and wheel-shaped. Sometimes they are carved on a slab of stone. In the north they are more numerous than in the south; simply because in the north more churches have been rebuilt, and crosses recovered from the walls, than in the south. In the south transept of Peel Cathedral one is seen on edge, with the inscription, "Asrid, daughter of Ottar." The upright stones called "St. Patrick's Chair" seem to belong rather to a far earlier date than the Runic. The two sculptured crosses they bear are by a later hand.¹ They present a very imperfect memoir.

We must leave these interesting memorials of "the loved, the lost, the distant, and the dead."

Of other ecclesiastical antiquities by far the most notable are preserved at Maloe, or Malew, near Castletown, and may have belonged to Rushen Abbey or Mayloe Church,—they date from pre-Reformation days; a processional cross of bronze, triangular, on which the Sacred Figure, partly vested, is extended; a portion of the metal staff on which the cross was carried; a long perforated spire of metal; the top of a lantern which Bishop Clifford says used to precede the Host when taken to the sick; and a silver paten with a portrait engraven, surrounded by a double circle containing the legend, "Sancte. Lupe. ora. pro. nobis." The church is dedicated to St. Lupus.²

Time nor space will admit notice of Peel Castle and St. Germain's Cathedral in the Isle of Sodor, Rushen

¹ At Marown and Maughold are very interesting and numerous Runic antiquities; certainly far more so in past years than now, for sculptured stones appear in the walls of buildings, and as lintels to doors. Two beautiful wheel-crosses did duty as stairs within the church. Some have been found buried, others broken. The pillared cross, so like that at Newark, bears the shield of the arms of Man, and must belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The fine slab bearing a cross throughout its length, was found overlying a grave, itself overlaid by the growth of years.

² The metal appears to be bronze, or bronze gilded, and the cross and figure suggest an Eastern influence. The figure is not in proportion, the arms being very short; the feet and hands are wanting; the hair is bound by a fillet (*ἐνὰ ἑμῶν*), and falls in long and thick masses; the eyes are closed, and there is no wound. A garment overspreads the loins, otherwise the figure is bare. The cross is triangular; perhaps in symbolism of the Trinity.

Castle and its history, and much and very interesting legendary lore concerning witchcraft, fairy superstitions, the evil eye, and old customs civil and ecclesiastical.¹ I cannot touch the memorials of a man whose influence to the present day is acknowledged, Bishop Wilson, but close the paper with the simple recital of the motive which took me to Mayloe Rectory.² I desired to see the church chalice, of which the following story is related: "In old days a Maix farmer, homeward bound, fell into the hands of the fairies, who, hospitably inclined, bade him to their feast. He, nothing loth, accepted the invitation, and joined the revelry; but suddenly remembering his association and peril, and pronouncing the Great Name, his companions vanished, leaving in his hands the goblet from which he had first drunk. A wiser, but not really a richer man, he reached home. The cup was no equivalent for stings of conscience, or apprehension that his appropriated property might and would be reclaimed. He consulted the priest of Mayloe, who told him his only hope for absolution and safety lay in the presentation of the cup to Holy Church. Legend saying "this cup is still in use", I visited Mayloe in hope of beholding it. Like other fairy lore, I found the legend pleasing and unsubstantial, but replacing it, the paten and cross I have had the honour of describing.

¹ The belief in the Mauthe Dhoo still survives. We all remember the legend of the Black Dog of the Guard-Room of Peel Castle. A man was crossing the cliffs by Fleshwick Bay when he was followed by a large black dog that would not leave him. Irritated, at length he smote it with his foot, "which he said went through it like smoke." It was the Mauthe Dhoo! This in 1879!

² Samuel Rutter, Archdeacon of the island, became its Bishop in 1661. He was a remarkable man, and the subject of many strange adventures. Amongst others, he was in the siege of Lathom House. He died in 1662, after a rule of exemplary piety and goodness. The following epitaph, engraved on a brass now placed on his tomb in the ruined Cathedral, but recovered in 1844 from the Sallyport well, speaks the character of the man:

"In hac domo, quam a vermiculis
Accepi confratribus meis spe
Resurrectionis ad vitam,
Jaceo Sam: permissione Divina
Episcopus hujus insulæ. Siste Lector,
Vide: ac Ride Palatium Episcopi:
Obt xxx^o die mensis Maii, Anno 1662."

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, DEVIZES, 1880,

MONDAY, AUGUST 16TH, TO SATURDAY THE 21ST INCLUSIVE.

PATRONS.

THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.
THE EARL OF RADNOR, Lord-Lieutenant of Wiltshire.
SIR EDMUND ANTROBUS, BART., High Sheriff of Wiltshire.

PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL NELSON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

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THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.
THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY.
THE MARQUIS OF BATH.
THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.
THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.
THE EARL OF CARNARVON, P.S.A.
THE EARL COWLEY.
THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.
THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.
THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.
THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.
THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.
THE EARL OF WARWICK.
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THE VISCOUNT TRAFALGAR.
THE LORD HAYTESBURY.
THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., F.S.A.
THE LORD METHUEN.
THE LORD WAVENEY, D.J.L., F.R.S.
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GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
THE REV. CANON JACKSON, F.S.A.
THE REV. CANON JONES, F.S.A.
R. V. LEACH, Devizes Castle.
WALTER H. LONG, M.P.
WILLIAM LONG, M.A., F.S.A.
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E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., 19, Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

Hon. Local Secretaries { JOHN REYNOLDS, The Manor House, Redland, Bristol.
W. H. BUTCHER, 36, St. John's Street, Devizes.

Honorary Curator, Librarian, and Congress Secretary—G. R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.
Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1880.

THE thirty-seventh Annual Congress of the British Archaeological Association commenced on the 16th of August, at Devizes, under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl Nelson. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the Congress of the Association met at Salisbury for the examination of Wiltshire antiquities, and few who took part in this Congress were numbered among those who then explored the beauties of Salisbury Cathedral, the Gib Hill Tumulus, or the earthworks at Old Sarum.

Devizes has evidently been built, in horseshoe form, around extensive earthworks of defence, placed at the angle of meeting of two deep ravines. The simple earthen mound was fortified, and became a castle of masonry. Two large churches were built in the twelfth century, in the town, on the high promontory behind. Beyond these churches and the scanty remains of the Castle there are few objects of antiquarian interest in the town, which is best known as the great corn-market of the district. The name of the headquarters of the Congress, the Bear Hotel, is associated with the early life of Sir Thomas Lawrence, whose father was its landlord during the youth of the future painter. The chalk districts, with greensand faults on the east of Devizes (divided by a well watered valley into the Marlborough Downs to the north, and Salisbury Plain to the south) are, however, weirdly attractive to that class of archæologists who seek to unravel prehistoric modes of life and burial.

No portion of England is so rich in traces of the aboriginal inhabitants and their successors,—of the Belgæ, the Romans, and the West Saxons. Stone and earthen circles, long lines of boundaries, ramparts and ditches, pit-dwellings, and British ridgeways and Roman paved roads, mounds and cisted tumuli, are numerous, and have been well preserved. The features of interest are not confined, however, to pre-Norman buildings and earthworks. A number of churches of a well

marked type, chiefly of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the remains of several Benedictine establishments, together with a few specimens of half-timber houses, and some of the modern mansions, will be visited. The district covered in the excursions is unusually compact, in no case overstepping the county borders, and being almost confined to the northern division.

Devizes is the centre of a district particularly rich in objects of archæological interest. Its public and private buildings have to a less extent than in many parts of the kingdom been affected by the changes which have passed over society, the absence of large manufacturing industries and rapidly increasing populations not having tended so completely to sweep away or absorb existing structures. The prehistoric remains are numerous and almost unique. It was, therefore, but natural that the Council of the Association should desire to visit the town.

The visitors began to arrive on Saturday, and were followed on Monday by the general body of members, among them being the Right Hon. the Earl Nelson, President of the Association; Mr. G. C. Adams, F.S.A.; Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A.; Dr. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A.; Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A.; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*; Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, etc. A number of ladies were also in attendance, and the members of the Local Committee and the County Society mustered at the meetings in great numbers.

The proceedings were inaugurated by a cordial reception at the Town Hall by the Mayor and Corporation of Devizes and the executive members of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,—a Society which has flourished for many years, and collected in the pages of its periodical magazine an immense store of topographical, archæological, and scientific information by way of pendant to the colossal works on Wiltshire by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. On this occasion the ancient charters of privileges which have been from time to time accorded to this town by many sovereigns, the maces, civic insignia, and mediæval plate in the possession of the Corporation, and several other objects likely to attract an antiquarian assembly, were displayed under glass in the Council Chamber; and considerable interest was taken in them by the members of the Congress as well as by the inhabitants of the town, who do not often have so excellent an opportunity of inspecting local relics.

The original charter by the Empress Matilda, constituting the town a corporate borough, is not now in existence; and the earliest charters are in confirmation of this, with an extension of privileges. The whole series is of antiquarian value; and the state of preservation which

they present shews how carefully they have been kept. In the same case, the two maces composed of silver-gilt, topped with a crown, and decorated all round with the emblems of the rose, thistle, harp, and fleur-de-lys,—their age indicated by the initials C. W. ; and the “Loving Cup” used at the Mayor’s feast, a lofty and elegant silver flagon with a lid bearing the date of 1620, with the name of the Mayor and others, were shewn. Besides these is the singular “Grace Cup” in the possession of G. Waylen, Esq., and lent by him for the occasion. It is supposed to be made from the Glastonbury thorn. It holds two quarts, and the liquor it contained was originally divided into equal quantities of half pints by means of eight pegs in the inside of the cup. On the lid is a representation of the Nativity nicely carved ; and around the cup are the figures of our Saviour and His apostles. An early date is assigned to this ancient cup. It illustrates the law of King Edgar, who attempted to restrain inebriety by regulating the quantity of liquor to one person by pegs or marks inside the cup, not to be exceeded under a severe penalty. Another relic of the ancient drinking customs is a massive silver punchbowl and ladle, which was exhibited. It has a crest of three feathers, with the words “The Brittox Club” surrounding it. When the Brittox Club flourished is now unknown ; but it was apparently not a very ancient institution, judging from the date of the hall-marks and the names engraved around the rim.

At half-past three the members were summoned to the Assembly Room for the opening ceremony. The chair was taken by the Mayor, T. Chandler, Esq., who was supported by R. L. Lopes, Esq., the Borough Recorder, and the Rev. Dr. Burges. Most of the members of the Town Council were present, as also were the Rev. H. A. L. Grindle, Rev. P. Peace, Rev. A. C. Smith, Rev. H. A. Olivier, G. E. Sloper, Esq., H. E. Medlicott, Esq., etc.

The Mayor said it gave him great pleasure to receive the members of the British Archæological Association. Though Devizes was not a large town, he hoped they would be comfortable. He intended to make his speech a very short one, and would sum it up in one word, “Welcome.” He hoped their visit to Devizes would be a very pleasant one.

The Recorder, R. L. Lopes, Esq., said it gave him very great pleasure to thank the Association, in the name of his fellow members of the Corporation, for their presence. If he attempted to speak of archæology, he would be speaking on a subject of which he knew little, and would place himself in an invidious position. However, he thought the Association had chosen a capital field for their researches, as could be seen from the map, and their excursions would be pleasant and instructive. Again he begged to thank the Association for the honour

of their presence this year, and to unite with them in the desire that the present delightful weather might continue, not only for their sake, but in the interest of the agriculturists who had suffered so much for many seasons past.

The Rev. A. C. Smith, Secretary of the Wiltshire Archæological Association, said he begged, on behalf of the members of that Society, and in the place of Lord E. Fitzmaurice, their President, who was now absent on the Ronnelian Commission, and therefore unable to attend, to welcome their friends, and, as he might call them, their elder brothers, from London. They should be able to shew them many objects of interest in Wiltshire; they were proud of their antiquities, and believed that they had objects here second to none in the country. This county possesses, perhaps in a greater degree than any other in the whole of England, magnificent examples of the earliest works attributed to human agency on the globe. The British period, illustrated but sparingly elsewhere, here is well shewn by the flake-strewn, barrow-studded downs; then come the marvellous and mysterious megalithic edifice at Stonehenge, and its larger but perhaps less generally known companion in age, Avebury; Silbury, the largest artificial mound in Europe, with its adjacent stone circle; the Roman road at Wanshouse; Amesbury and Vespasian's Camp: the Castles of Bratton (where the Danes once held their camp) and Devizes; the monastic remains at Malmesbury (the home of the most vivid and most trustworthy of our chroniclers, William of Malmesbury), Bradenstoke Priory, and Lacock Abbey; and a large number of typical specimens of ecclesiastical and domestic architecture,—all being included in the places on the programme for visitation during the days at disposal of the Association. With regard to domestic architecture, some fine specimens in the old houses at Potterne, Great Chalfield, and Keevil. But these were not the things for which Wiltshire was famous. They would shew them the British Camp at Bratton, and enable them to discuss the question as to whether that was the scene of Alfred's great victory. Where, too, could they meet with such relics and monuments as the old Belgic ditch of Wan's Dyke, running ten miles through the county, and Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in England, indeed in Europe, except one or two in the extreme east of the Continent, in a Russian province? They would shew them the world-renowned Stonehenge, and the less famous, though much larger and older, and infinitely superior, temple of Abury. These and many other objects of interest would shew them that Wiltshire was second to no other county in historic antiquities. He hoped the members of the local Society would learn much from their more learned brother archæologists, and again offered them a most hearty welcome.

The Rev. H. A. Olivier, Hon. Curator of the Wiltshire Archæological Museum, said his duty would be a light one, merely to assist in shewing the party round the local Museum. That Museum, although small, was a good one; indeed, he did not know of a better collection of British antiquities anywhere. They had recently been fortunate in getting the famous Stourhead collection of British antiquities collected by Sir Richard Colt Hoare from various barrows on the Downs, which they would view with great interest.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, said it devolved upon him, in the unavoidable absence of the President, to return thanks for the kind welcome they had received. With regard to the Wiltshire antiquities, he would take the Recorder's word, and not speak of anything which he did not understand. He felt sure that they would all be edified and instructed by what they would see, especially when assisted in their discussions by such a Society as the Wiltshire Archæological Society, which was renowned not only in Wiltshire but throughout England.

Under the guidance of the Rev. H. A. Olivier and Mr. Henry Cunningham, Curators of the Devizes Museum, the extensive collection of antiquities recovered from excavations in the barrows, preserved in that institution, was inspected. Among the objects preserved here is the original inquest on the body of Ruth Pierce of Potterne, who, on the 25th January 1753, fell dead suddenly after having foresworn herself. It appears that the said Ruth having with two others bought a sack of wheat, and each paid, as was thought, their part of the purchase money, a deficiency was found, and Ruth was accused of not having paid. To this she replied, "she wished she might drop down dead if she had not." She had scarcely spoken the words when she fell down and expired, having the money concealed in her hand. An obelisk in the Market Place commemorated the above incident; but a handsome memorial cross, erected in 1814 by Lord Sidmouth, now occupies the spot.

The chief attraction is the Stourhead collection, formed by the Wiltshire historian and antiquarian, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and his friend Mr. William Cunningham, of Heytesbury, at the beginning of the present century, and which within the last eighteen months has been rearranged and presented to the county by Mr. Henry Cunningham. It is exclusively composed of pre-Norman objects found in the county, and includes the largest collection of gold ornaments—lozenge-shaped plaques, rings, and pins—in the world, many cinerary urns, bronze and flint dagger-knives, beads of amber, glass, gold, and bone. There is also a large collection of bronze vessels and Samian ware, which was found on the premises of an ironworks company at Westbury. Some of the most recent additions to the Museum are the contents of a

tumulus at Rochley Down, near Marlborough, opened by Mr. Henry Cunningham last autumn. Beneath the mound was a primary interment containing the perfect skeleton of an adult male, placed in kneeling posture, the head resting on clasped hands. Over this were secondary interments consisting of two cinerary urns, one 16 inches high, and 13 inches across; the other 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and a small food-vessel. The skeleton is in excellent preservation.

The members then proceeded to St. John's Church, the exterior of which was carefully examined, and the principal features of architecture noted. On entering the church the members seated themselves in the nave, and the Rev. J. Hart Burges, D.D., read an interesting paper on the edifice. It is cruciform, with lofty central tower. This tower, the transepts, and the chancel, are chiefly of late Norman character. On the north-west angle of the tower is an external belfry-staircase, rising as circular turret above the pinnacles, of a rich character. The nave is long, and has been rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and lengthened very recently; and north and south chapels with rich open ceilings were added to the church in the sixteenth century. The chancel is low, and consists of two bays still retaining their Norman transverse vaulting. The east end has modern intersecting arcading, copied from a Norman fragment on north wall, and coloured with bright tones now happily fading. Dr. Burges ascribed the eastern part of the church to the time of the militant Bishop, Roger Poer, of Sarum, Chancellor to Henry I, c. 1130.

Mr. Brock remarked that it was a typical and fine example of the Wiltshire church, a cruciform building, enlarged in the fifteenth century. An unusual feature was the central tower, which was oblong on plan; and the narrow arches to the transepts were pointed, whereas the wider ones to east and west were circular, but with precisely similar mouldings. From this introduction of the pointed arch, and the use of the billet and other mouldings, the date must be later than that mentioned by Dr. Burges; probably it was built between 1152 and 1160. Again, there were traces of aisles to the Norman nave in the windows on the west face of south transept; probably small, low lean-to's, above which the central tower (the highest Norman steeple in the south of England) rose with fine effect. The south chantry chapel would repay examination, as one precisely similar in ornamental details, and also built by a Beauchamp, would be seen at Bromham on Saturday. When the church was altered, it was found that the pillars stood upon Norman foundations.

Mr. Lambert disputed whether the Norman nave was ever finished, and suggested that the monks gradually built just the parts required for worship, the chancel and transepts, and the nave was left, perhaps, till the fifteenth century.

A local gentleman, however, stated that when the arcades were recently repaired, the bases of Norman pillars were found under the present octagonal piers ; proving Mr. Brock's hypothesis, that nave-aisles were at least contemplated by the founders.

After discussion the members proceeded to a close examination of the building, the records, plate, etc., and the visitors expressed themselves greatly pleased with the general beauty of the structure.

Proceeding next to St. Mary's Church, the Rector here read a paper descriptive of the building, which was generally supposed to have been built soon after the Conquest. He shewed how the various changes of worship had been evidenced by the painting on the walls, discovered in the recent restoration ; and especially drew attention to the beautiful carved ceiling of the nave, which was before entirely covered with plaster and whitewash. The work here was much less finished than at St. John's. The parish accounts began in 1449, and the overseers' books in 1630. This church is a late Norman structure, but of a more usual type ; and the clerestoried nave and its aisles were rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the old footings and buttresses, as Mr. E. Kite shewed, being utilised on the north side. An unusual feature is a well carved statue of the Virgin and Child, placed under a rich, tabernacled canopy on the east wall of nave, in the position often occupied by a Sanctus bell. This, at the time of Cromwell, was taken down by the churchwardens, and buried, and so escaped the hammer of the iconoclast. On the south of the nave is a rich Early English porch, originally an inner doorway, but removed and rebuilt in clumsy fashion at some unknown period. The chancel, like St. John's, is extremely low, is also square-ended, and has transverse groining. Dr. Burges mentioned that he had also restored this church four years ago, without the assistance of a professional architect. Beneath the plaster ceiling of the nave he found the present fine Perpendicular roof with decorated tie-beams, resting on corbel-heads. The date was fixed by an inscription on the second beam, "Willm. Smith, qui istam ecclesiam fieri fecit, MCCCCXXVI." The chancel-walls were $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick ; but the masonry was very bad, only the outer faces being properly laid.

Mr. Loftus Brock said that the date of 1436 would be exactly that which would be assigned even if the inscription to the memory of William Smythe, the founder, had been obliterated. It was rebuilding, the old foundations having been used to save expense. He believed it to be built originally by the same hand as St. John's, although not so well built. Its existence and size pointed to the fact that Devizes might well have been a corporate town before the date usually assigned, and that the population preceded the Castle rather than the Castle the population.

A minute inspection of the building was then made, and the traces of alterations, etc., effected at different dates were followed out.

Afterwards a visit was made to the remains of the ancient Castle, renowned in the middle of the twelfth century, in the wars of the Empress Mathildis, daughter of Henry I, who, as Mr. W. de G. Birch pointed out in a paper published in the *Journal* of the Association some time ago, is entitled to her place among the sovereigns of England by reason of her formal recognition by the government then existing in England during the eventful years 1141-42. Here the party was courteously received by R. V. Leach, Esq., the proprietor. A most interesting feature was the museum of relics found in the excavations, and which embraced a wide range of objects and of dates,—British, Roman, Romano-British, and of more recent dates,—coins, keys, cannon, pottery, a perfect skeleton with cleft skull, and a great variety of other objects. During the past twenty years, Mr. R. V. Leach has built, from his own designs, a modern mansion into the ruins, and laid out the grounds as a landscape garden. The central mound, the inner bailey, and the two *valla*, separated by a rampart, can be clearly distinguished. The present Castle, in which Norman balustered fenestration is picturesquely combined with Edwardian bastions and machicolated turrets and balconies, stands on the west side of a site which, roughly speaking, is a triangle with rounded corners, and may represent in plan the domestic offices of the mediæval building. To the south are remains of what seems to have been the undercroft of the great hall. The Castle is said to have been founded by Bishop Roger, and was gradually dismantled after the reign of Edward VI; and the keep was besieged by the Parliament in 1643, and was taken two years afterwards.

Mr. Leach conducted the visitors over the building, which is a very storehouse of old china, paintings by old and modern artists, armour, and wood-carving. In a “secret chamber”, approached by a modern sliding door, and built upon the only inhabited ancient part of the Castle, is a museum filled with bones, Roman coins, Samian ware, Anglo-Saxon pottery, British spear-heads and celts of flint, all found in the grounds by Mr. Leach or the workmen. In the grounds are one or two gateways built of late Norman carved stones removed from St. John’s Church during recent restoration; and Mr. Leach explained that undoubtedly the Castle formed a quarry for church repairs in the past, and some of the fragments were only returned.

At the close of the visit Mr. Brock suggested that the Castle was built upon earlier earthworks, and that this would account for the extensive mounds and ditches by which it was defended. The trenches were found, when the tunnel of the Great Western Railway was pierced beneath the Castle, to be excavated 45 ft. deeper than the present levels.

Besides this, Mr. Leach's museum shewed that the site was occupied successively by the British, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans, and compared the Castle with that at Norwich and others. He had no hesitation in saying that it was of British origin. This county had some of the finest earthworks in the country. Old Sarum was of that character. Begun by the ancient Britons, it was used by the Romans, occupied by the Saxons, and successively by the Normans. There was a fair resemblance between the earthworks at Devizes and at Old Sarum. If it was said that at the latter place the earthworks were deeper than here, he would turn to the evidence of the engineer when the Railway was made, who found remains at a depth of 45 feet below the present level. On these British earthworks Bishop Roger built his Castle. He was glad to say that the foundations that still existed shewed clearly the workmanship of Roger Poore. All archæologists were indebted to the present owner for the careful way in which he had preserved every little fragment, and had made the building up of his own house on this historical site a labour of love for many years. Mr. Brock then pointed to the various parts of the site as illustrating his theory that Bishop Poore had found and utilised the large mound before them. He concluded by tendering the best thanks of the Association to Mr. Leach for admitting them to the grounds and Castle, and for his great courtesy to them that day. He especially referred to the museum of pottery, etc., which contained, he said, some things that were older by a thousand years than anything Norman.

At one extremity of the modern building is preserved one of the old windmill towers, engraved by Stukeley in 1723. The lower storey of this building has been fitted up as the museum.

Mr. Leach assured them of the happiness it gave him to welcome them all, and said he hoped during the week they would walk about his grounds, and go where they liked.

At 7 o'clock Earl Nelson, President of the Association, arrived, having been prevented by an engagement in London from coming earlier. The members thereupon assembled in the Town Hall to hear his inaugural address. Having been welcomed by the Mayor, Earl Nelson commenced by regretting that he was prevented from joining them earlier in the day by an engagement in London, to which he travelled that morning. He also regretted that, owing to the difficulties of communication between Devizes and Salisbury, he could not offer his hospitality to the Society. He felt pleased to accept the office of President over these meetings, though he had no pretensions whatever to great archæological lore, and really represented the more humble, but perhaps as useful, and certainly more numerous, class of people who might do a great deal for archæology,—the busy bees who might gather honey for the greater ones to work and feed upon.

Speaking of what archaeology had already done, he said there was no end to the immense advantages they saw, in these days, from their work in elucidating history, for during the last half century the history of this country had been really rewritten by the means of archaeological research. These recurring meetings, though they might be held amidst scenes often visited and reported on before, had a greater work to perform than was at first apparent. It was much more than the pleasant picnic which many of their outings in this fine weather enabled them to enjoy; it was much more than the additional pieces of information that might be gathered upon each fresh visit, and from the valuable papers which would be read. Its greater work was a missionary one; and the zest that such meetings gave to all to become antiquaries, to gather little bits of family history, and of the history of their respective parishes; to support the local Association, promote the circulation of their archaeological and natural history magazine, and contribute to its pages. In that way a mass of information was gathered together, from time to time, which helped to elucidate different obscure parts of history, and had already, through the *Wiltshire Magazine*, added much to the materials for a county history, which, with much less labour than Sir Richard Colt Hoare and his noble compeers bestowed, would greatly enlarge and illustrate the work associated with his name. A well known archaeological friend, Canon Jones of Bradford, was on the point of bringing out a most interesting book on the original uses of the different parts of Salisbury Cathedral, with a second volume on the whole religious history of the diocese from the earlier times,—a publication which in such hands would be most useful to the history of the county. In reference to the ecclesiastical branch of their subject, he illustrated by two instances how a true knowledge of archaeology would have had an eminently useful purpose. When restoring Salisbury Cathedral there was a natural desire expressed by the laity that they should not have a closed choir, and that they might have seats, if not in the choir, at least in the north and north-eastern transepts. Both these demands were looked upon as contrary to old arrangements; but he believed that Canon Jones's book would shew that at Salisbury the returned stalls were a mistake, as it was a foundation of secular canons; and that in the original design the laity sat in the presbytery and the two eastern transepts, thereby surrounding the altar. There was a direct order in part of the old Sarum Use, that the priest, walking round the altar, should incense the people in the transepts and in the presbytery. The other case he adduced was the use of colours at the different Church festivals and seasons. The colours adopted by many, in ignorance of the subject, were taken from the modern Roman Use; whereas the old colours of the Church of England, as taken from her old service-books,

pointed to the part Gallican and part Eastern origin of their Church, and gave an additional proof of her independence of Rome. In these two instances it was clear that a true knowledge would have avoided a cause of offence; and if the deductions of Canon Jones were correct, would have shewn that a desire to act according to the old order of things would have been in favour of, rather than against, the natural desire of the people. His Lordship then proceeded to point out that they might assist in promoting archæological lore by preserving the old names of the different fields and farms. Every field had a name; and many still retained them by mere tradition among the old labourers and in the old parish maps and terriers. Some of more modern date only referred to the size of the field on its comparatively recent allotment, such as "Hundred Acre", which generally meant "Under Acre", and "Ten Furlong", or the like. But there were much older names than those; and if they ever attempted to walk the bounds of an old Saxon charter, many of the old names, if kept, would help out the boundaries; and the specified points on the boundary would give a point and an explanation to the names Whelpley, Wellow, Landford (often spelt with two *ll*'s), was a proof of the British being originally to the east of their Christchurch Avon. Cedric's battle at Charford drove them to the other side, and caused the succession of forts from Old Sarum down the valley, protecting the western lands to which they retired. A few years ago, in digging in a rabbit-burrow, Lord Radnor's keeper came upon an old Saxon chief, with his sword by his side, who had evidently fallen in the moment of victory, in the middle of the fortified path he had taken from the British; following up the successes of Cedric, and driving the Britons on the other side, across the river at Britford, which it was still called. That shewed the use of preserving names and the old earthworks. A discovery was made which would have been comparatively useless without those well known surroundings which, having been preserved, gave a consistency to the history. His Lordship then proceeded to refer to some of the places of interest which it was the intention of the archæologists to visit. Referring to the tumuli, he said those on the Wiltshire Downs had been sufficiently excavated; and he thought nothing could justify the profanation of old burial-places when there was a certainty of no new discovery being made. He did not see, however, why a careful tunneling should not be conducted under the so-called altar-stone at Stonehenge, to see if any remains which might illustrate the age of Stonehenge could be found there or within the sacred circle; and secondly, he advocated the replacing of those stones which had fallen within man's memory, or a record of which had been carefully preserved. The mechanical appliances of the present day could easily replace them. The necessity of something being done to preserve the ruin as handed

down to us was becoming more and more pressing. One of the great stones was gradually leaning more heavily on one of the inner circle, and it might come down any day. Some means should be taken, by artificial supports, to prevent that catastrophe; and he could not for the life of him see why, when that was done, they might not have those stones replaced whose position was clearly known, and whose fall had been carefully recorded. Having briefly glanced at the programme, the Noble Earl said he earnestly wished them a happy and successful meeting, and he should be fully satisfied if, under his presidency, many of the small fry learnt their own usefulness, and resolved to put their shoulders to the wheel, and endeavour to collect and preserve all such monuments of the past as came in their way, so as to bring them under the notice of the greater *savants*.

A vote of thanks to the President, for his address, was then proposed by the Mayor, and seconded by Mr. Morgan, and carried unanimously, and the company separated.

The dinner took place at the Bear Hotel, and was attended by about ninety ladies and gentlemen, Earl Nelson presiding. After an excellent dinner, provided by the Manager of the Bear Hotel Company, the Noble Chairman gave the usual loyal toasts.

In toasting the Bishop and Clergy he shewed how much they could do, by preserving local records, etc., to help forward the work for which the Society was established.

The Rev. Dr. Burges responded, saying the clergy were most anxious to preserve the noble structures committed to their care by the piety of their ancestors. He again expressed the deep satisfaction it gave to the inhabitants of Devizes that the Association should have seen fit to select their good old town as the place of meeting this year.

The Rev. A. B. Thynne, of Seend, said he regretted that his own parish was not included in the programme, because there was something to see. On the outside of the church was a very fine stone crucifix; and he had also an old deed called "The Stock of Seend Church", giving a list of the moneys left for different purposes, and referring to various pictures and images which had then existed in the church. He should also liked to have shewn them the fine view from the churchyard; but not being in the route, he could not do so.

The Mayor said that before they retired, he had to propose the health of the Noble President of the British Archaeological Association, and in connection with it, "Success to the Congress."

Earl Nelson thanked them for himself and for the Association he had the honour to represent. This was not their first visit to Wiltshire; twenty-eight years ago they met at Salisbury; but it would be hard if they could not find some new matter, even if they had to go over some of the ground a second time.

Mr. Loftus Brock proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Devizes. When they came to consider how old the Corporations in most of their towns and cities were, they must come to the conclusion that they were the greatest antiquities of all. Founded, as he believed, and carried on by the energy and strength of the Romans, adopted by the Saxons and the Normans, they had laid the foundation of English liberty; and they all owed a debt of gratitude to those men who had for so many years acted on the different Corporations of the country. To the Mayor and Corporation of Devizes (which he had that day shewn to be a much older place than the guide-books said it was) they were indebted for the invitation they had given the Association to visit this town, and for the courtesy and hospitality they had shewn to them since they had been here.

The Mayor assured the Association of the desire of the townspeople to render them every accommodation, and make them as comfortable as they could be in any larger town.

Mr. Morgan proposed "Prosperity to the Wiltshire Archæological Society." He spoke of the interesting Museum in this town as shewing, with other things, that there was a vitality in the Society which made it extremely unlikely that it would die out. He had much pleasure in testifying to the value of Mr. Henry Cunningham's services in connection with the Museum. He had pointed out a skeleton such as they seldom had an opportunity of seeing, in the exact position in which it was found in the barrow. He was a good osteologist as well as archæologist, and to him as well as to the Curators the visitors might look for a pleasurable visit to the Museum.

Rev. H. A. Olivier said he hoped they would get much benefit from contact with their London brethren. The present Meeting had suggested to him the idea of inviting some neighbouring Society to join with them in their future meetings, because he believed in the advantage of such co-operation amongst archæologists. He hoped they would go and see the Museum, because he really did not think they would see a local Museum anywhere that was better worth seeing than this.

Mr. G. S. A. Waylen being asked to propose the last toast of "The Ladies", did so in a felicitous and humorous style; and it was acknowledged in a similar strain by Mr. G. R. Wright.

This closed the proceedings of the day.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1880.

On Tuesday upwards of eighty ladies and gentlemen started from the Bear Hotel in five large brakes and several smaller conveyances. The morning, and indeed the day throughout, was beautifully fine. The first halt was at Potterne Church, on approaching which the company were at once struck with the beauty of outline and the grand simplicity of the architecture, which is Early English, all of one date. The delightful situation on which the church stands was much admired. On entering the church every part was closely examined, as well as the church plate and Registers, the latter in good condition. The church, which is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, stands on rising ground overlooking the village. It is a fine cruciform edifice of the Early English period (thirteenth century), with a few notable features of later date in the shape of an embattled parapet and pinnacles which surmount the tower and the southern porch. These are of the Perpendicular period. The church was completely restored in 1872. Whilst excavating under the present font, which dates from the fourteenth century, another font, of very early date, apparently of Saxon workmanship, was found buried.

A brief description of the building was given by Mr. Brock, who said it stood on one of those peculiar earthworks for which this county is remarkable. The tower admitted of a spire or high roof. The old font points to the existence of a church in the Saxon period.

Leaving the church, a fine old house called the "Church House", with the date 1614 upon it, was visited. It was formerly probably the residence of the vicar.

The "Porch House", a half-timbered range of buildings of the fifteenth century, in the principal street of the village, and which is one of the most interesting archaeological objects in the neighbourhood, was then inspected, and the greatest enthusiasm was shewn by the members of the Association, both at the beauty of the house, and the judicious way in which it had been preserved and restored by Mr. Richmond, R.A., the present owner. Standing in the hall, the Rev. A. H. Olivier made some observations upon it, describing it as it was when it came into his father's possession in 1830. The hall was divided into two apartments by the construction of a floor across. This gave so little head-room in the upper apartment, that one of the residents striking her eye against the ornamental dependent ribs of the house, had the ornament cut off to get it out of the way, and it was lost. Colonel Olivier, to make the other match, cut that off too, and that

also was lost. This flooring had now been removed, and the house thoroughly gone over, and every part restored to its original state.

The Rev. A. C. Smith said it was impossible to give the date of its erection. Some placed it in the fourteenth, and some the fifteenth century. They must decide for themselves. It was formerly used as an inn, although built for an ordinary gentleman's house, an old sign, "Ye Old White Horse", having been found in it. To shew how precarious its existence had been, it was stated that a fireplace had been built against the timber partition of this apartment, the chimney of which was of wood covered with a slight coating of mortar. A singular hole in the wall of one of the upper rooms excited some speculation. The signs of the existence of a minstrel's gallery in the hall were looked for in vain. Although this was the principal room in the house, every other portion of it is of equal interest and archæological beauty. The grounds at the back also are nicely kept. Indeed, a lively imagination could easily take the visitor back four or five hundred years, to the time when this ancient building with its now quaint gables and timbered walls, its oaken wainscoting and floors, its rich carving and elegant window-lights, were constructed, and came fresh from the hands of the builder. Some gold coins of ancient date had been found in one of the walls, and were supposed to have been placed by some guest at the inn, behind the chimney-place for safety, and to have fallen into a crack, and been lost.

After a good half hour's interesting research, the carriages were resumed, and the party stopped again at Eastwell House, the residence of Mrs. Hunt-Grubbe. This is a good old house of Queen Anne's time, the carving on the porch at the entrance being fine. The house appears to have been well preserved, and not to have been added to at subsequent dates. There are a small lake and waterfall, with a fine lawn and bowling-green, quaint old summer-house, and terraced gardens, and some glorious peeps of country stretching far away over the Erlestoke valley, the air being deliciously scented with the odour of wild thyme. The place has been in the family of the Grubbes for four or five hundred years.

From this very pleasant spot the visitors were reluctantly called away, and resumed their journey to Edington Church. This noble priory church was the most interesting building seen during the day. It has been illustrated and described as a typical-dated building, shewing the process of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular. Mr. J. H. Parker has shewn the west front in his *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*; and in *The Building News* for July 12, 1872, will be found double-page drawings of the exterior, for which the late F. C. Deshon was awarded the Institute prize. It is of the cruciform plan usual in the locality, with large chancel and transepts, aisled and

clerestoried nave of six bays, central tower, and south porch of three stories. The tracery varies from flowing lines in the west aisle windows to a rigid, well developed Perpendicular in the great west window and elsewhere; and, as Picton shewed, the mouldings are similarly progressive. An embattled parapet is carried round the building, enclosing the lead roofs, and is repeated on the tower. The west front shews threatening signs of settlement; and on entering, further symptoms of need for restoration are apparent. In the chancel is a series of canopied niches between the windows, with tabernacled heads, and in two of these headless figures remain. On the east wall is an elaborately carved wooden reredos of very late Jacobean character, seeming, from the central pilaster and keystone above, to have formed, at one time, an excellent chimney-piece from some old house. The large rood-loft is perfect; but beneath it is an incongruous wooden screen, and upon it boards figured with the royal arms, and dated 1788, the Commandments, and Creed. The nave has a singular wooden ceiling of debased character, with plaster panels, and has a small west gallery, high pews, balustraded platform round font, tablets on the piers, whitewashed walls, and other tokens of an ante-Restoration period.

On the base of the former churchyard-cross, opposite the south porch, Colonel Bramble gave an address on the history of the church. It was built by William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester, in the short space of nine years, having been founded in 1351, and dedicated in 1362 as the church of an Augustinian college; but the establishment was soon changed into a Priory of Bonhommes, a French order, of which the only other known English houses were those on College Green, Bristol (now the Mayor's Chapel), and Ashridge in Bucks. Having described the church, Colonel Bramble referred to the dangerously dilapidated state of the west window, and referred to the monuments, specially mentioning the last work executed by Chantrey, a group on the north chancel-wall, shewing the deathbed scene of Sir S. R. B. Taylor, 1815; a monument to Edmund Lewys, *temp.* Charles I, and his wife, the Dowager Lady Beauchamp; and a singular caricature of the same monument in the nave, erected within recent years, to the Taylor family, in which a panel of the procession of father, mother, and children, with weeping angels at either end, is repeated,—the Taylor figures being in the ordinary yeoman costume of forty years ago. In the south transept would be seen a monument to one of the priors, the only memorial to one of that order in England. It was much defaced, and had repeated on it the rebus of a tun with three sprays of leaves growing out of it, and the monogram J. B. The suggested explanations, Bainton, Bechington, or Treecton, did not correspond with any name in the tolerably complete list of rectors of Bonhommes. There was also, in the centre of the church, an altar tomb

to a Cheyne, on which were two canopied pews, apparently of the same date.

The Rev. H. Cave-Browne-Cave said it was proposed to restore the church, and appealed for funds towards the £7,000 required.

Earl Nelson observed that the church was far too large for the villagers' needs, nor could they keep it in repair; and he thought the preservation of such a valuable historical monument as to the change of style was not merely a county but a national undertaking, and introduced Mr. C. E. Powell of Chancery Lane, who had prepared a preliminary report pending the appointment of a restoration committee.

Mr. Powell said he should propose a strictly conservative reparation of the edifice, underpinning the west front, and carefully rebuilding the window, which was being shattered; removing the monuments from the tower-piers, and making them good; and taking ten or eleven coats of whitewash from the inner wall. The nave-roof and ceiling were evidently the result of two alterations of the sixteenth century; and notwithstanding its debased character, he should not allow more than repair. Some of the late panelling in the church could be utilised in a proposed vestry to be built on the old Priory foundations, at the angle of north transept and chancel, in place of the wooden room now shut off in this transept.

Earl Nelson remarked that it was brave of an architect to disclose his proposals for restoration to archaeologists.

Mr. Brock commended the spirit of the report, and after supplementing the descriptions already given of the church, called attention to the decaying and battered condition of the Parish Registers, arising from the neglect of former vicars.

Mr. J. A. Picton, F.S.A., followed, and directing attention to the three-storied south porch, said the upper chamber of this and similar porches had been called "parvises" by modern archaeologists, who took the term from a well known passage in Chaucer. He challenged them to produce an ancient authority for the use of the word. A "parvise" was simply an enclosed space at the west end of churches, used for festive meetings, and occasionally as schools. The upper parts of porches might be, and were, used for these purposes in France, but were not in this country.

The remains of the Priory on the north of the church were afterwards examined, it being shewn that the nave-windows were kept high above a stringcourse on this side, to allow of the pent-roofs of the cloister; and the monks' entrance from dormitory into transept, doorway into aisle, and other traces, were described by Colonel Bramble. On part of the site a farmhouse with gabled front, recessed between two low, square, embattled towers, has been built from the *débris*. It

contains good panelled work and plastering of late sixteenth century character. The monastic fish-ponds still stocked with tench ; the buttressed and coped stone wall, now enclosing an orchard and a conduit, from which run two supplies of water, one said to be hard, the other soft, but the tasting of which provoked amusing diversities of opinion, are almost the only other traces of the Bonhommes' establishment.

After this the party took luncheon at the George Inn at Tinhead, and then adjourned to the village green, where, in the shade of a spreading chestnut-tree, the Rev. A. C. Smith gave a short account of the encampment or earthwork called Bratton Castle, and of the disputed site of the battle of Ethandun, and the movements of King Alfred before and after that event, which some antiquaries, including Camden, place at Edington, and others at West Yatton, or Eaton, about five miles to the west of Chippenham.

Bratton Camp or Castle was a good specimen of an early English fortification. It was subsequently occupied by the Saxons and the Danes ; and although it had been questioned whether this was the site of Alfred's victory over the Danes at Ethandune, in A.D. 878, as described by Asser and the author of the *Saxon Chronicle*, he hoped they would rest satisfied that it was there, near the spot where they were assembled, that that decisive battle was fought. Alfred marched from Brixton Deverell. It was here the battle was fought, and then the Danes took refuge in the Castle. It was a very important historical site. There might be a question as to how the people there procured water. The theory was that they had dew-ponds which supplied sufficient water for their purpose. Close by was the old "White Horse", the only *old* "White Horse" in the county,—almost, if not quite, as old as that at Wantage. It was not the same that was cut when Alfred was there ; for, just as their churches had been restored and rebuilt, so that the one now existing represented, but was not the same that originally stood there, this memorial, though not the original one, occupied the same site. The original horse was very much smaller ; and it was only within the last hundred years that it was said to have been "very much improved". It was a pity that it was ever touched at all.

Mr. Brock said it was gratifying to find that a Wiltshire archæologist described the Camp at Bratton as an ancient British one, for it was only recently that people had agreed to accept the idea ; these works having passed as Anglo-Saxon, Norman, or Roman, but not as British. Any one taking a map of the county would see what a number of earthworks there were on the tops of the hills ; and a critical examination shewed that they were almost all of them of one age, and might, therefore, be attributed to one people, the ancient Britons. In saying that, and endeavouring to enforce it as a truth, he was not in any way

attempting to disprove its use by the Anglo-Saxons in the time of Alfred the Great, for they knew how often earthworks constructed by one people had been used by others. For instance, when William III landed at Torbay, he took up his position on one of the earthworks not far from the spot; and at the battle of Devizes, Waller took up his in an old British encampment on Roundway Down.

The Rev. Cave-Brown-Cave, Vicar of Edington, then offered a few words on the proposed repair of Edington Church. They had seen how much it needed it, and he would be pleased to receive the names of any one who would assist them. No list had yet been opened, for unfortunately the lord of the manor was not in a position to help them now; and therefore, if any sums came in, they would be invested in the names of Colonel Hildebrand and himself; and when they could see £7,000 they would begin, but they could not hope to do anything permanent until they had £12,000. When the time came, he hoped that the money would pour in largely from all quarters.

Earl Nelson spoke in support of the idea that Bratton Castle, like Old Sarum, was a British work. He described the construction and value of mist-ponds as a means of supplying water. On his property there were a good many made for the sheep on the high hills with very little run of water into them. They were puddled, and took time to fill; but water did accumulate in them, and it must be from the mist of the hills. With regard to Edington Church, he thought that the report the Association would give, and the paper of Mr. Powell, would help them towards the proper repair of the church. It ought to be a national work, in which people from the length and breadth of the land should be interested; for it marked the transition from one style to another, and shewed that William of Edington was the originator of that style, and not William of Wykeham.

Arising out of the accepted theory that the earthworks at Bratton were British, a discussion arose as to the so-called Roman roads in various parts of the kingdom. Mr. A. Myers, F.S.A., expressed his belief that these were constructed by the British, and only utilised and improved by the Romans on their conquest of the country.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., however, controverted the idea, saying it was incredible that the ancient Britons should have been able to construct these ways even in the rude form suggested. He regarded them as the work of the Romans, and said there was no proof to the contrary.

A painting of the now demolished church of Erlestoke, a new one being in course of erection by Mr. S. Watson Taylor, was then exhibited.

The next object of interest was a tray containing the remains of a skeleton, which had been found close to the same spot within the last

few days. Some of the archæologists accordingly went to the spot, and found that in the face of a sand-bank from which the sand has been dug for generations past, the workmen had suddenly come upon a series of holes, like small caves (eight in number), in a direct line, and at an equal depth of about 4 feet from the surface. In each of these were found the remains of a human skeleton. The sides and top of the hole were encased in slack lime, and the holes followed the position in which the body had been buried. It was evident that the bodies had been placed in the holes from the surface, and then covered with lime; and as they decayed, the empty spaces were left, which were now disclosed. No implements or articles of any kind were found with them; and the conclusion seems inevitable, that a systematic series of murders had been committed at some distant period. The only thing that seems to militate against this is the regularity of depth and direction in which the bodies lay; but probably others may be found to which this remark does not apply. There is no question about the bones being human.

The next work in the programme was a visit to Bratton Church, a nice little structure at the extremity of the village, and nestling amongst trees at the very foot of the hill. It was beautifully restored some few years ago. Mr. Brock said it was a fifteenth century church, but with a font of Norman date, shewing the existence of a Norman church at a former period.

A stiff climb and walk of about a mile then brought the archæologists to the brow of Bratton Down, with the White Horse immediately below them, outside the rampart, on the south-west declivity of the hill overlooking the town of Westbury, which is seen among the trees away in the distance. The figure of the Horse is in a walking attitude, and of gigantic proportions; and it attracts the notice of travellers on the Wilts and Somerset Railway, when looking out of the carriage windows, on the east. The Horse was remodelled in 1778, and in 1873 its figure was again rectified, its surface scoured, and its outline protected by an edging of stone deeply set in the chalk. This had been described beforehand; but the visitors were interested in noticing the care that had been taken to preserve the outline of the monument from destruction by the action of the elements,—a modern contrivance which somewhat detracts from the appearance of antiquity which the Horse should present. The magnificent view over a great part of Wilts and Somerset that is gained from this eminence was greatly admired and intensely enjoyed by the visitors.

Descending by the roadway, the carriages were regained at the foot of the hill, and the order was given for Steeple Ashton. A very pretty drive through villages presenting a most picturesque appearance, and abounding in old fashioned houses with gardens beautifully adorned

with flowers, brought the excursionists to the ancient town of Steeple Ashton. The object of inspection here was the fine old church of St. Mary the Virgin. The Vicar, the Rev. A. O. Hartley, R.D., received the Association, and after shewing them the church, read a paper on the history of Steeple Ashton and its church. Formerly it had a market and a cloth trade, from which it was supposed to have been called Staple Ashton, now corrupted to Steeple Ashton. A church existed previously to this one, which was built between 1480 and 1500. In 1670 the spire, 93 feet high, was struck by lightning, and fell across the nave. It was rebuilt, when another storm occurred, and it fell again. The present very beautiful chancel was built in 1853. The name of Long occurred frequently in the history of the manor and the church; and there is over the altar a fine coloured window to the memory of R. P. Long, Esq., who died in 1868. The church plate and Registers were shewn; the latter beautifully written, and in excellent preservation; the former having a flagon of 1581, and a paten of 1699, etc. A fine view of the church was had from the north-east corner, a noticeable feature being the flying buttresses, three of which on each side were never finished, or have fallen. The west front was greatly admired for its boldness and beauty.

Near the church, in the village street, is a large cross, rebuilt in 1673, with stone bull and sundial.

From Steeple Ashton the next stage was to Keevil Church, an early Perpendicular transepted building with good west tower.

In the village is a well restored, fifteenth century, half-timbered house having a central hall, as in the Potterne example.

Opposite this was inspected the Manor House, the property of Mr. Beach, M.P., which was erected for the Lambert family late in the sixteenth century, and presents four gables on the chief front, and three on each wing. The main entrance is under a lofty Jacobean porch, known to have been added in 1611. The principal rooms are wainscoted, and contain a large collection of paintings, china, and old domestic furniture. The garden is of a formal character, in keeping with the house, and is noteworthy for the numerous and large clipped yews.

Time would not allow justice to be done to the last church on the programme, that of Poulshot, which is an interesting example of a small unrestored church, still containing the cumbersome west gallery, the whitewashed, vaulted ceilings, and the candelabra, of forty years ago. There are Jacobean pulpit, font-cover, and chancel-rail, and pews of medium height. The incumbent, the Rev. H. A. Olivier, briefly indicated the chief features, shewing that it was an Early English church remodeled in the sixteenth century, when the north aisle was reduced in width, the chancel lengthened, and two-light windows

renewed. An historical interest is attached to Poulshot Church from the fact that Bishop Ken occasionally worshipped there when on a visit to his nephew. Edward I also halted at "Paulsholt", where he is supposed to have had a hunting-lodge.

The brakes then proceeded homewards through a lovely country, richly wooded lanes, and smiling cornfields, with glorious, setting sun in the west, and the moon rising in the east, the very pleasurable journey being completed at about eight o'clock.

On Tuesday evening a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, which was attended by most of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood who take any interest in archæological subjects, as well as by most of the members of the Association. The chair was taken by the President, Earl Nelson. The first paper read was by Dr. Stevens, on the subject of "The Discovery of Palæolithic Flint Implements, with Mammalian Remains, in the Reading Drift", which has been printed at pp. 1-10 *ante*.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., asked if Dr. Stevens had ever formed any opinion of the character and time of the men who then existed.

Dr. Stevens said that from the works of such men as Sir John Lubbock they learned that a small race of men had inhabited these districts at a very distant period, with animals of a similar kind to some now living in Africa, together with the mammoth (now extinct) and reindeer, which survive in the extreme north; and it was possible that these men and animals might have migrated into this region at the same period.

Mr. W. Cunningham, F.G.S., spoke of the discovery as a remarkable one, no implements having been discovered in that drift previously. The finding of the quartzite hatchet was particularly interesting, as implements constructed out of that material were exceedingly rare: indeed, he was not aware that any other specimen had been found in this country.

The thanks of the meeting having been given to Dr. Stevens, the next paper was read by J. A. Picton, Esq., F.S.A., on "The Ethnology of Wiltshire as illustrated in its Place-Names", which will also appear in the *Journal*.

The paper was commented upon by Earl Nelson and Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., after which the thanks of the meeting were tendered to Mr. Picton for his able paper, and the company separated.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1880.

At nine o'clock the party started for Bishop's Cannings. The exterior of the church was first inspected, and, on entering, every point of

interest was minutely examined, an old chair of meditation,¹ situated near the south transept being specially admired. The party then seated themselves in the chancel, and were addressed by Mr. Loftus Brock, who said the dedication of churches often threw light upon the state of the times in which they were built. This one was dedicated to St. Mary, to whom more churches were dedicated than to any other saint. The church was of cruciform shape, and in the pointed architecture of the thirteenth century. Like many other old churches, it could be read almost like a book. He called attention to the beautiful work on the roof of the chancel. The tower was Early English; but he thought the spire had been erected after the tower was built. The so called "chair" was a fabrication of late date, made up from fragments, probably, of a rood-screen.

The party then passed on to Wansdyke. After walking along the entrenchment for about half a mile they were called together by Earl Nelson, and addressed by the Rev. A. C. Smith, who said the ditch was evidently put up as a defence by the natives, on one side, against the raids of those on the other. It ran in a direction of east to west, and is distinguishable at intervals for eighty miles. He considered it was the last of the four ditches made by the Belgæ.

The party was also addressed by Mr. Morgan, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Picton, and others.

Progress was then made to Avebury, where the remains of the ancient temple were inspected. In reply to a remark deploring that some of the stones had been broken up, the Rev. Bryan King said that was now stopped.

The Rev. A. C. Smith shewed that the enclosure on which the members were assembled was an outer mound, 30 feet high, with deep ditch on inner side; in all, 70 feet in height. Within this are a few of the original ring of huge stones which surrounded the smaller circles; one of which had one central stone, the other three central stones. Two avenues once led to south and south-west. The stones were sarsens, brought a distance of a mile and a half from a torrent bed of boulders at the junction of the valley. The largest stone left weighs, according to Mr. Wm. Long, 63 tons, and one of 90 tons was destroyed a few years ago. He claimed that this was a more important monument than Stonehenge, although less known; and that it was far older was evidenced by the fact that these were rude, unhewn stones set on end, while those at Stonehenge exhibit marks of chiseling.

The Rev. Bryan King described recent discoveries of broken sarsens,

¹ ? example of the ancient "currel" or stall fixed in the cloister of monastic buildings, and used by monks or clergy for daily study or meditation. Still some to be seen in Durham Cathedral. *This* might have been brought from Sarum, Bishop's Cannings having been in immediate dependence on the Cathedral.

pottery, and deers' horns, in the enclosure; and Mr. Picton gave an address, in which he claimed that this was a great amphitheatre, and that these circles were connected with the primæval religion of the world.

Mr. J. T. Burges spoke upon the earthworks.

Dr. Stevens shewed that all these circles were based on multiples of three, and referred to the mystic properties of the number.

Mr. Morgan suggested that "Abury" was derived, not from the Saxon *ea*, a river, but from the Icelandic root, *aar*, a year; and that the name meant an assembly of the people at fixed seasons of the year.

Mr. Cunningham remarked that the sarsens were remains of a layer of sandstone which once overlaid the chalk, and regretted the removal of so many sarsens from the valley for building purposes; but that had recently been stopped.

Mr. Brock raised the theory that this was a temple, and that this formed part of a serpent, of which the head exists on Overton Hill; and in this Messrs. Smith and Cunningham concurred.

It transpired that the site has been recently purchased by Sir John Lubbock, M.P., to preserve it from desecration.

The members then visited the principal stones in the village, including two in a farmyard, which stood in the centre of the northern circle; and the two other unusually large stones at the south point of the outer ring, which indicated the entrance to the Kennet Avenue.

In the afternoon the parish church of Avebury was visited. It is, internally, in a whitewashed and dilapidated state, preparations having been made for restoration, from the designs of Mr. R. J. Withers of London. It has suffered much from alteration effected by Mr. Button, a builder, of Calne, in 1810, who replaced Norman arcades to the nave with pseudo-classic columns; but in the alterations there are traces of the former arcade figured by Britton; and to the west of these there are older and plain windows on either side, recently discovered. The chancel was at a lower level than the nave, as at Bradford-on-Avon and other Saxon churches. During the work, fragments of a fifteenth century rood-screen, of good design, was found to have been worked into seats and galleries.

Having seen Avebury, the Manor-House adjoining, built in 1601 on the site of a small priory, the residence of Mr. Kemm (now being restored from designs by Mr. Ponting of Marlborough), the members drove through the Kennet Avenue to the supposed head of the serpent of stones, and afterwards to Silbury Hill, at both of which places further explanations were given by the Rev. A. C. Smith and others. Afterwards an imperfect circle of very small sarsens, on a down a mile south of Silbury (which forms a direct line with it and Avebury) was visited under the guidance of the Rev. A. C. Smith, who discovered

it, and pointed out the similarity between it and the small stone circles of Jutland.

The evening meeting at the Town Hall commenced at half-past eight, Earl Nelson in the chair. A paper was read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, "On the Discovery of a Viking Ship in Norway", which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Myers, F.S.A., said that a ship had been found at Iona, in Scotland, in a barrow similar to the one described; but it was the ship of a missionary, and not of a Viking.

The subject was also commented upon by Mr. Morgan, Mr. Lyne, and Mr. Picton.

Thanks were tendered to Mr. Brock, by Earl Nelson, for his interesting paper.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

MRS. W. GIBSON RENDLE, 15 Russell Road, Kensington, was duly elected an Associate.

Dr. Hooppell was elected Local Member of Council for the county of Durham.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Author, for "Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, his Life and Times." By A. C. Fryer. 8vo. 1880.

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 4th Series, No. 44.
 „ „ for "American Antiquarian", vol. iii, No. 1. Oct. 1880.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., F.R.S., exhibited two printed books relating to London at the end of the seventeenth century, and promised a note on them upon a future occasion. They consisted of two editions of Thomas de Laune's *Present State of London*, 1681 and 1690.

Mr. Lewis exhibited objects recently exhumed in Telegraph Street, London, at a depth of 10 feet, principally consisting of Roman pottery, scraps of metal, and portions of an inlaid casket of mediæval art-work.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited a Roman silver *denarius* of the well known type¹ used by the Antonia Gens,—*obv.*, ANT . AVG . III . VIR . R . P . S. *Rev.*, eagle standard between two maniples; LEG . XVIII. Mr. Wright announced further exploration of the Roman villa at Bromham, Wilts.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited an Egyptian vase of rough, red, unglazed terra-cotta, brought by the Rev. Greville Chester from a tomb on the site of the Pyramids of Gizeh, of the oldest Egyptian style, probably from 1500-2000 B.C.

¹ Mr. R. E. Way reports another similar coin with *obv.*, ANT . AVG . IIIV . VIR .; *rev.*, R . P . C . LEG . VII .; found in a field called Burrow Moor, in the parish of Templeton, and near an old road called Stoney Laue, leading to Tiverton, Devon.

Mr. Birch also exhibited, by the kindness of Mr. Ready of the British Museum, a cast of the metal plate used for the tonsure of the officials of St. Paul's Cathedral. Dr. Sparrow Simpson has promised a paper upon this at a future opportunity.

The Chairman exhibited a fragment of thick, scored Roman tile from London; and two others, of smaller size, from Bittern, near Southampton, and remarked that these tiles, scored for better securing the plaster in which they were set in the walls, recalled that very important service in Roman buildings, which had not been sufficiently studied or explained,—that is the heating apparatus for warming the rooms or building; and would direct the attention of architects to this in investigating the many Roman buildings which have lately been uncovered. We speak of a hypocaust and flue-tiles; but how few know the difficulties under which they were put in action to prevent smoke entering the rooms, and to secure a current of heated, fresh air circulating throughout the room, while the furnace outside and the *caldaria* each played their parts in the operation. Mr. Morgan referred to a Roman building he saw uncovered at Lillebrune, in France, on his visit there a few months ago. One of the circular orifices in the wall was very perfect, forming part of the heating apparatus.

Mr. Alfred C. Fryer, F.C.S., exhibited a piece of a human skull from the site of old Melrose Abbey; also a sketch, by Mr. Andrew Currie, F.S.A., of a stone exhumed on the Chapel Knowl there.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced the discovery of considerable Roman remains on the site of Leadenhall Market, pointing to an extensive conflagration in Roman times. A paper on these remains is in course of preparation.

The Chairman read a paper by Dr. W. Smart, entitled "Notice of some Roman Remains from Nursling, Hants." This will be printed hereafter.

Mr. G. R. Wright read a paper on the "Hardships of the Laws relating to Treasure Trove", with a view to their modification. This will be given in a subsequent part of the *Journal*.

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Brock, Mr. Compton, and Mr. Birch took part; the latter gentleman pointing out that it would be unadvisable and inopportune to propose any alteration of so ancient a prerogative of the crown of England. The discussion on this subject was adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1881.

No meeting was held on this day, in consequence of the inclement weather, whereby members were prevented from attendance.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library :

To Raff. Dura for "Catalogue of the Rossi Collection of Coins." Rome, 1880.

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", No. 148, vol. xxxvii. 1880.

" " for "Journal of the Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland", No. 41. January 1880.

To the Author for "Notes on a Denarius of Augustus." By H. Phillips of Philadelphia. 1880.

To the Society, for "Erdélyi Múzeum", Part I. Kolozwart, Jan. 1881.
And "Památky Archæologické Mistopisne." Upraze, 1878.
Vol. xi.

By desire of the Council, members and others having objects for exhibition were requested henceforth to give early notice to the Secretaries, that due consideration might be taken of them.

Miss Brocklehurst and Miss Booth, of Bagstones, sent for exhibition a ground-plan and a series of pen and ink sketches of the remarkable mound at New Grange, Drogheda.—1, General view, facing south; 2, Entrance to cave, south; 3, Outside view of the mound, shewing the trench around it; 4, Passage from chamber to entrance, looking outwards; 5, Left-hand cell with details of inscription and feather-ornament; 6, Right-hand cell.

The following note accompanied the sketches:—"About seven miles from Drogheda is the curious artificial mound called New Grange, on the top of a slight hill. It has a trench round it, and the outside of the mound is paved over with round cobble-stones. Out of these grow here and there thorn bushes and young ash trees. Outside the trench there has been a circle of large stones about 20 yards apart. Only six or seven of these now remain (1880). The entrance is by a hole not more than 2 feet high and 3 feet wide. Below it is a stone step covered with scrolls. After creeping in a yard or so, one may stand up, and proceed down a very narrow passage formed of long up-standing stones from 5 to 6 feet high. This passage leads to a round chamber roofed with a dome like a beehive, of long flat stones. Round the chamber are three cells, each containing a large, round, hollow, flattish stone basin placed on other stones, and raised from the ground perhaps a foot or so. On the large slab forming the ceiling of the right-hand cell, the carving of zigzags and scrolls is very profuse.

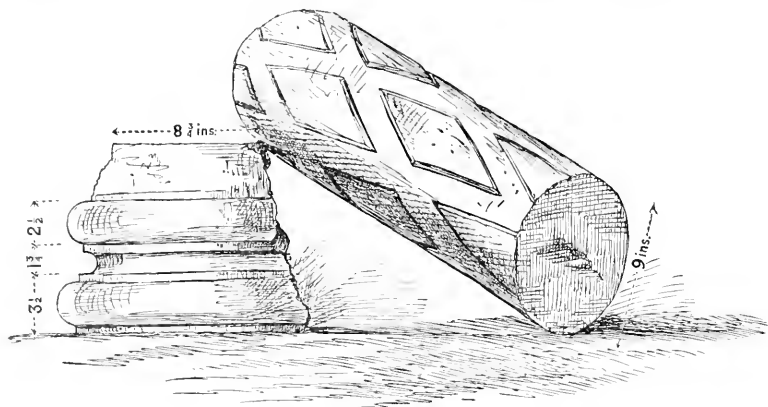
The back of the cell on the left-hand is ornamented with three carved circles of different sizes, ring within ring, like a cobweb. On the right side of this cell is an inscription, carved, and picked out with black to attract attention. The cell facing the entrance has but little ornament, and its basin-stone is cracked."

Mr. Dymond sent the following note in explanation of a point in the recently printed paper relating to "Cup-Markings on Burley Moor":—"Since my paper on this subject was published, Mr. J. F. Nichols, F.S.A., of Bristol, has written to me, remarking that he detects in the group of cups, viewed from the indicated point, the outline of a duck or goose. The resemblance had also originally struck me; but not being able to call to mind any instance in which the artist of the rude stone times had represented animal or other object-forms in *dotted* outline, I concluded that the likeness to a bird, though very remarkable, was only accidental. But now, as another antiquary has independently noted the similitude, and is disposed to accept it as the key to the draughtsman's meaning, it may be well to throw the suggestion before others, who may, perhaps, be able to adduce parallel instances of the use of a similar mode of delineating form. Failing this, if the animal-theory is true, the example would seem to be unique."

Mr. R. Blair, of South Shields, forwarded a photograph of the top of a Roman tombstone. He writes: "Another addition has been made to the number of Roman relics discovered at South Shields. While digging the foundations of a house at the east end of Cleveland Street, on the site of the cemetery of the *castrum*, the workmen lately came upon the top of a Roman tombstone, 22 inches long, 12 inches high, on which is a pediment of very good workmanship. In each angle above the pediment is a well carved head, one of them that of a female; the other is so much disfigured that it cannot be identified. In the centre of the pediment is the front view of a lion's head with a ring through its mouth. These figures are in high relief. The other parts of the stone are carved in a style of workmanship similar to that on the Palmyrene tombstone now at the Public Library, and found some time ago in the vicinity of Cleveland Street." The stone is in the possession of Mr. Blair.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, sent a drawing of two fragments of Roman architectural work, found built up as old material in the midst of a mass of masonry—apparently also of Roman date—which projected from the Roman wall at Houndsditch. This mass of masonry will prove to be another example of a bastion built up against, but not bonded into, the old rampart of the city of London, and of rather later date. The fragments are of special interest, since so few indications remain to us of the designs of the Roman buildings of the City. The first is a circular Attic base of a column, and is 11 inches

high. The second is a portion of a column very neatly worked all over its surface with diagonal bands and lozenges,—a pattern not uncommon in Roman works on the Continent. It is of a dark, hard, blue limestone, affording us another example of the use of materials chosen for their colour. The shaft is 1 foot 6 inches long, and 9 inches



diameter. It may have belonged to the base found with it, although the latter appears to be a quarter of an inch less diameter. But this small amount of variation may either be accidental, or the result of imperfect measurement from the broken edge. These sculptures have probably been derived from some one or another of the Roman sepulchres outside the walls of the City; a supposition founded on the analogy with other discoveries, and from the somewhat small size of the column, rather smaller than may have been required for the decoration of any public building.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a carved cup made from a cocoa-nut shell, set in silver, and believed to be of the seventeenth century.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a pale, glazed terra-cotta candlestick from the site of the Tabard Inn, High Street, Southwark.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited a photograph of an inscribed stone found in the Yarrow Valley, Selkirkshire, in 1807. A cast of the stone, 6 feet long, is preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The inscription is uncertain, but appears to read, "Hic memor jacet...principei Nadi...Dumnoceni hic jacent in tumulto duo filii libertati..." It has been referred by some to the Arthurian heroes, Nudd Had and his sons.

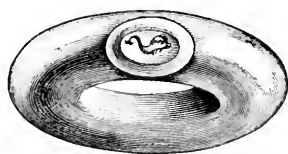
The Rev. Daniel Greatorex sent for exhibition the drawing of a stone bearing a Greek inscription, at Sûk Wady Bârâda, from Abilene in Syria. Bârâda is the ancient Abana river, running through Damascus. Sûk is about six hours' journey from Damascus. The inscription has not yet been deciphered.

Admiral Wood, writing from the Provincia de Granada, Yllora, in Spain, where he is in charge of the Duke of Wellington's estates, says : " We are frequently finding Roman remains here. The last and most interesting came to light when ploughing. It consists of a handsome stone pillar or altar with the following inscription :

D . M . S .
C . AEMILIUS .
CANTABRINVS
SEX . SEIANVS
ANN . LXII .
PIVS . IN . SVIS .
H . S . EST .
S . I . T . L .

The ornaments on the top are like a sacrificial patera between two lictors' fasces. The stone is 5 feet high, 1 foot 10 inches square ; in a very perfect state of preservation, and exceedingly well wrought." The lettering is obscure, as the epigraphy is of that period when E, I, L, and T, are nearly similar. Admiral Wood found remains of foundation-walls adjacent to this altar, but no tomb. It is now carefully mounted in his garden. With a small assistance in the way of funds, the Admiral states, he would make considerable excavations with a certain prospect of further discoveries.

In a subsequent letter he writes : " Before I came here a handsome Roman tomb was found, most carefully built of brick, and containing a leaden coffin which proved to contain the dust of a man of immense size. Among the remains was found a massive gold ring with the device of a dolphin beautifully cut on a blue stone. Several tombstones were also found, and one of these has a dedication to Priapus. The Roman tomb where the leaden coffin was found I have carefully preserved, as well as the walls of the small building built as a protection to the same. I am confident that a town or large village once stood close to this tomb."



Mr. W. H. Butcher, of Devizes, read a paper on further excavations on the site of the Roman villa at Bromham, Wilts, which will be printed hereafter.

Dr. Phené, F.S.A., read a paper on his recent excavations in the Troad, and exhibited an extensive series of diagrams in illustration of his remarks. His paper will find a place in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Grover announced recent discoveries at Warwick Square, Newgate Street, of three Roman funereal glass vessels enclosed in leaden cists, which are adorned with chariots and other subjects in relief. These, from the coins found with them, are to be referred to the period of Nero and Claudius. A spur-rowel, combs, *styli*, etc., were found on the same site.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. Pieton, F.S.A., was unanimously elected to be one of the Local Members of Council for Lancashire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire", vol. xxxii. 1880. 8vo.

" " for "Württembergische Viertel Jahrshefte für Landesgeschichte." Four Parts for 1880. 4to.

" " for "Journal of the Society of Arts." 1881.

To the Society, for "Report of the Council of the Art-Union of London." 1880. 8vo.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", 4th Series, April 1880. No. 42. 8vo.

" " for "Journal of the East India Association", vol. xiii, No. 2.

To Raffaele Dura, of Rome, for "Catalogue de la Collection Vertunni." Rome. 8vo. 1881.

To the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, for "Bulletin Historique", 114e livraison.

To Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., for the following works : "Memoirs of Thomas Dodd, William Upeott, and George Stubbs, R.A." Liverpool, 1879. 8vo.—"Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Rings in the Collection of Joseph Mayer, F.S.A." By Chas. Tindal Gatty. London, 1879. 8vo.—"Catalogue of the Mayer Collection. Part I : the Egyptian Antiquities." By Chas. T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1877.—"The Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum considered as an Educational Possession." By C. T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1878. 8vo.—"On Public Libraries, their Use and National Profit." Liverpool, 1867. 8vo.—"Supplementary Catalogue of the Mayer Free Library, Bebington." 1880. 8vo. Two Parts.—"Address to the Members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire." By J. Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1868. 8vo.—"On the Art of Pottery, with a History of its Progress in Liverpool." By J. Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1873.

Mr. G. Worthington Smith, F.L.S., exhibited two very fine and unusually large palæolithic drift-implements, ovate or pip-shaped ; one from a 10 feet grave in Southampton Cemetery, the other from a gravel-pit on Southampton Common. Mr. Smith also exhibited a prehistoric corn-grinder, consisting of a gritstone-slab and two balls, from Thetford.

Mr. Edward Allen exhibited, through Mr. Brock, who described the exhibition, a sketch of Stonehenge from W. Smith's *Description of England in 1588*, a facsimile of that work having been lately made from the original MS. in the British Museum.

Mr. E. Saunders exhibited a Hungarian or Bohemian glass vessel from Amsterdam, of the seventeenth century, locally termed "a thunder glass". It is pear-shaped, with a loop at the top for suspension against a wall, and a boss at the bottom, and has the sides frilled or engrailed. When half full of water (about half a pint), the level is so arranged as to exactly coincide with the inner orifice of a long spout (S-shaped), turned up, thus forming a rude kind of barometer; and on the air becoming rarefied in a storm, the water would be driven out of the spout, and thus give notice of the weather.

Mr. Brock exhibited a series of plans of excavations recently carried out at Leadenhall Market, shewing the foundation of an apse, 33 feet wide, and indications of four distinctly different conflagrations.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., read a paper by Mr. F. Brent, F.S.A., on the "Discovery of an Ancient Grave in Stillman Street, Plymouth", and exhibited a diagram of the interment.

Mr. H. Watkins read a paper on "Recent Excavations at Houndsditch", and exhibited a series of fine coloured diagrams in illustration of the Roman work uncovered by him on the site.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Blashill, Mr. Brock, the Chairman, and Mr. Miller, Clerk of the Works at Leadenhall, took part.

Mr. W. de G. Birch read a paper by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, entitled "Notice of Prehistoric Remains near Tealing in Forfarshire", which will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1881.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the Smithsonian Institute for *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, vol. ii, Nos. 1 to 12; *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, vol. xvi.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a short communication from Mrs. Jackson-Gwilt, accompanied by a rubbing of the well known brass, in Margate Church, to the memory of Thomas Cardiff, priest of the church A.D. 1515.

Mr. Brock also described further discoveries at Leadenhall, shewing the great extent of the Roman building, and the thickness of walling. He also exhibited fragments of fresco paintings, with ornamental patterns, of green foliage of a flowing style, on a dull red ground, of the plaster-work of the walls. The building appears to have had the form

of a basilica in some respects, with eastern apse, western nave, and two chambers like transepts on the south side.

Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., exhibited a collection of Irish jewellery, chiefly brooches and armlets, indicative of the worship of the crescents; also a drawing of the head of an Assyrian monarch, found by Lord Mount-Edgumbe on his estate in Devonshire.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., exhibited a Roman painter's palette from Maryport, accompanied with the following note: "Among the objects met with in the course of the excavations which Mr. Joseph Robinson has been making, under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, in the suburbs of the extensive Roman camp at Maryport, is one which at first puzzled several of the members of that Society. It is a small rectangular slab of grayish stone, apparently carefully polished on one side; while the other, though carefully worked, is left unpolished. The polished side is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ broad. The unpolished side has a bevel round it of five-eighths of an inch, and on the flat it measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 inches broad. The stone is about half an inch thick. The fine edge between the polished side and the bevel is carefully taken off. Reference to the *Journal* (xv, p. 316), where two similar objects found at Uriconium are described and engraved, shew that this stone is a Roman painter's palette; the polished surface being that on which the colours were rubbed, as the extra polish it has in its centre shews. The bevel on the other side makes the palette fit commodiously into the palm of the left hand. The palette was found in the autumn of 1880, in the suburbs around the Maryport camp, at a considerable depth, in soil full of Roman *débris*."

The Chairman read a paper on "Early Views of St. Paul's Cathedral", and illustrated it with tracings from drawings in several MSS. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Wright, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Morgan, took part.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., sent a drawing of Winwick Cross, and Mr. W. de G. Birch, in explanation of the plate, read the following

DESCRIPTION OF WINWICK CROSS.

BY J. R. ALLEN.

The mutilated fragment of a sculptured Celtic cross, which forms the subject of the following brief notice, is situated in the parish churchyard of Winwick, a quaint little Lancashire village, one mile distant from Newton Bridge Station. All that now remains of what must once have been a very fine wheel-cross are the central portion and the two side-limbs. This fragment measures 5 feet long by 1 foot $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, by 10 inches thick, and stands against the east wall of the chancel of the church, resting horizontally, being supported

at each end by two modern square pillars of red sandstone, which raise it 2 feet 9 inches above the ground. From the dimensions given above, the total height of the cross, when perfect, cannot have been less than from 12 to 15 feet. The material of which the cross is made is sandstone of whitish colour.

The form of the cross is distinctly Celtic, having four round hollows at the angles, formed by the intersection of the limbs, and a ring of stone encircling the whole. This type of monument is so clearly Irish in its origin that it is difficult to believe that the Winwick Cross was not erected by some Celtic missionary. Every available portion of the fragment which remains is elaborately sculptured with knot-work, key-patterns, spirals, and figure-subjects.

The front face has a central boss, 8 inches in diameter, raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch above the surface of the rest of the stone, and ornamented with four interlaced knots. The two ends of the cross limb form rectangular panels, 1 foot 4 inches long by 1 foot $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad; which are subdivided into two L-shaped spaces, one being filled in with key-pattern diapers, and the other a running band of knot-work¹. In the remaining space between the central boss and the ends, the same designs are repeated with slight alterations to suit the shape. The ornament on two ends, although at first sight identical, will be found on closer inspection to differ in detail, there being three diapers of key-pattern on the left side, and four and a half on the right side. The knot-work is also unsymmetrical with regard to the centre.

The back of the cross is almost entirely defaced, as it has at one time been used as a tombstone, being stuck upright in the ground, and the carving chiselled off to make room for a modern inscription. Enough remains, however, on the half which was below ground to shew that there was a central boss, 10 inches in diameter, and four bosses on each limb, at a distance of 1 foot 6 inches from the centre. The rest of the face has evidently been ornamented with elegant spiral patterns. The two ends of the limbs of the fragment have figure-subjects of rude execution, but considerable interest, carved on them. The first subject is a man carrying what appear to be either two bells or two buckets; the former being referred to in "The Bells of the Church", by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe. On the left side, at the top corner, is a conventional representation of a church (?), and below it a cross. At the right hand upper corner is another cross, and at each of the two lower corners is the symbolic triquetra. The other figure-subject consists of two men holding a third, head downwards,² between

¹ The fine artistic effect gained by the contrast of stiff, geometrical key-patterns and the irregularly curved lines of knot-work, has been pointed out in a previous paper.

² Figures, head downwards, occur on the cross at Gosforth, Cumberland; Aycliffe, Durham; St. Vigens, Forfarshire, and elsewhere. The significance of this has not yet been explained.

them, and holding a bow or saw in their hands. The top surfaces of the ends of the limbs next the stone ring are ornamented with key-pattern diapers, as shewn on drawing.

The locality of Winwick will well repay a visit. Close to Newton Bridge is an admirable specimen of an old Lancashire half-timbered manor-house; and the road to Winwick passes the site of one of Cromwell's battlefields. The church at Winwick has been well restored by Pugin. The cross just described is the only one so nearly resembling the Irish examples, which exists in England. The drawing is reduced to scale from a rubbing, and corrected from sketches and measurements made on the spot.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Heywood and Mr. Brock took part.

Mr. Birch read the following:

DISCOVERY, NEAR LIEGE, OF A "TABULA HONESTÆ MISSIONIS"
RELATING TO BRITAIN.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

I have never ceased, for many long years, to insist on the importance of cultivating a closer relationship between ourselves and the antiquaries of other countries, feeling that we depend so much on each other for historical materials of the highest value, which, from want of better intercourse, are but little if at all known beyond the districts in which they have been discovered and preserved. Vast as have been the archæological collections made in the United Kingdom during the last thirty years, there remain in other countries, especially in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, rich mines of precious information almost, if not quite, unknown, and certainly unworked. We should not relax in our efforts to extricate from obscurity what we could make available; but it must be owned we have to contend against a wide-spread and deep dead-weight of apathy and dull indifference.

A bright and cheering exception is M. Henri Schuermans, President of the Court of Appeal at Liège, and one of the most eminent of the antiquaries of Belgium, as the *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et Archéologie* will clearly prove. M. Schuermans, in the spirit of true archæology, has sent me a rubbing from a fragment of a "*Tabula Honestæ Missionis*", or military diploma, as this class of inscriptions is commonly called, found, at the close of last year, in the bed of the Meuse at Flémalle, in the environs of Liège, and is now deposited in the Museum of the Society of Art and History of the diocese of Liège, recently founded. Not far from Flémalle, M. Schuermans remarks, is Hermalle, which probably gave name to the goddess Harimella, an altar to whom was found at Birrens in Scotland, where the auxiliary Tungri were quartered.¹ To one of them returning to his native place

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, p. 203.



with the privileges of a veteran we, no doubt, owe this *tabula*, the certificate of his services and of his discharge.

These *tabulae* are now so well understood, and have been engraved and published in so many accessible works, that a repetition here of their peculiar claims and value seems uncalled for. This fragment records *ale* and cohorts well known, and inscribed upon other similar plates; but I believe this is the first instance of the mention of T. Avinius Nepos. At a subsequent period we are familiar with Aulus Platerius Nepos, a personal friend of Hadrian, and long in command in Britain when the province was stimulated by the presence of the Emperor himself to great undertakings and achievements. The *tabula* is of the early days of the reign of Trajan.

I may mention here the excellent engravings of the Malpas, Sydenham, and Rivington diplomas in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and of the fragments of a tablet¹ of Antoninus Pius discovered by Mr. Clayton at the Chesters, the site of the important station Cilurnum. The engraving of this is accompanied by an admirable explanation of the *tabulae honestae missionis*, with references also to Continental examples.

The following is my reading of the rubbing sent me by M. Schuermans, with restorations in brackets. The obverse :

[Imperator Caesar divi Ner]vae F[ilius] NERVA TRAIANVS
 [German]icus PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
 [tribunicia p]otestat[e] co[n]sul[is] II
 [equitibus et peditib]us QVI MILITANT IN ALIS
 [duabus et cohortib]us SEX QVAE APPELLANTVR
 [I.....]A c[ivium] R[omanorum] ET I TVNGRORVM
 [et I.....]RVM ET I HISPANORVM
 [et I.....rum et I] FIDA VARDVLLORVM C.R.
 [et II li]NGONVM ET II NERVIO
 [rum et sunt in Brit]ANNIA SVB T AVIDIO
 [Nepote dimissis] HONESTAE MISSIONE A
 [. . qui] QVINA ET VICENA PLVRA
 [ve stipendia merue]RVNT QVORVM NOMI
 [na subscripta sunt] IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS
 [que eorum civitate]M DEDIT ET CONVEIVM
 [cum uxoribus quas] TVNC HABVISSENT CVM
 [civitas est eis data duntaxat singula singulas, etc.]

The reverse :

FIDA.....
 II LINGONVM ET II NE...
 IN BRITANNIA SVB T AV...
 DIMISSIS HONESTA M...
 NEPOTE QVI QVINA ET ...
 PENDIA MERVERVNT ...
 SVBSCRIPTA SVNT ...
 RISQVE EORVM C...

¹ *Archæologia Æliana*, Part 24, vol. viii, New Series, 1880.

CONVEIVM CVM VX...
HABVISENT CVM ...
.....

The inscription is written, or rather engraved, in rustic Roman capitals of very fine shape and character; the letters of the obverse being smaller, closer, more carefully made, and more conventional, than those of the reverse, which are larger and more displayed, and exhibit a greater freedom on the part of the writer. It is to be regretted that at present no plate of this interesting object can be put before our readers.

Mr. Compton concluded his remarks on the paper lately read by Mr. Wright upon treasure trove.

Obituary.

REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT.

THE death of the Rev. Prebendary Walcott on the 22nd of December 1880, at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine, will be regretted by all who have followed his literary career. No apology is needed for introducing here a notice of one who, although never a member, so often furthered by his labours the objects of the Association. We gather from *The Athenæum* that Mr. Walcott, the son of the late Admiral Walcott, M.P. for Christchurch, Hants., was born at Bath in 1822. He was educated at Winchester, and proceeding to Exeter College, Oxford, took a Third Class in "Literis Humanioribus", and his B.A. degree in 1844. In 1847 he took his degree of M.A., and in 1866 that of B.D. Mr. Walcott's first clerical appointment was to the curacy of Enfield, which he held from 1845 to 1847, when he became curate of St. Margaret's, Westminster,—a post which he held until 1850, when he accepted a similar position at St. James's, Westminster, 1850-53. In 1863 Mr. Walcott obtained the dignity of Precentor, and Prebendary of Oving, in Chichester Cathedral; and from 1867-70 was the minister of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair.

But it is chiefly with Mr. Walcott's literary labours that we are concerned here, and the great amount of literary work which he has left behind shews with what indefatigable industry his researches have been carried on for thirty-three years. Perhaps he himself best explains the incentive by which he was animated when he writes:—"Wherever I experienced a difficulty in my own ordinary reading, I at once sought for its solution, and noted it down. Every rare fact or curious illustration which I discovered was added to my store, whilst

conversation, inquiries, and the current literature of the day, suggested what were the requirements of a large class of inquirers." The titles of his works exceed one hundred in number; we can, therefore, only name a few of the most important, dealing with a great variety of subjects, which he treated with singular felicity of style, charming simplicity of narrative, and above all, scrupulous adherence to truth in detail, and fairness in recording matters of controversy. Mr. Walcott's first literary effort of magnitude was the production of "The History of the Parish Church of St. Margaret in Westminster, with copious Extracts from the Registers and other Records", etc., 1847. This was followed by a work entitled "Westminster: Memorials of the City, St. Peter's College, the Parish Churches, Palaces, Streets, and Worthies", 1849. The British Museum Library possesses an altered copy of this book with the date 1851. This was followed by "A Handbook for the Parish of St. James, Westminster", 1850; "St. Paul at Athens: a Sacred Poem", 1851; and an important manual on "The English Ordinal: its History, Validity, and Catholicity, with an Introduction on the Three Orders of Ministers", 1851. In the following year Mr. Walcott produced his work on "William of Wykeham and his College", written with the ardour of an old Wykehamist; in 1854, two poems on sacred subjects, and a "Handbook for Winchester Cathedral". In 1857 and 1858 he was busy upon a series of biographical memoirs of the bishops of England and her colonies, from the earliest period to the present time; of these a part only has been published.

Church work and church associations controlled Mr. Walcott's literary leanings, which were rapidly developing in the direction of ecclesiastical and monastic archæology. His critical acumen in points connected with sacred antiquity is admitted by all who had, like him, felt how "*dulce est inter majorum versari habitacula, et veterum dicta factaque recensere memoriâ.*" In 1858 Mr. Walcott produced a work upon which a considerable portion of his literary fame rests: it was "A Guide to the Cathedrals of England and Wales", with short notes of the chief objects of interest in every cathedral city. The following year he issued a "Guide to Kent", and another to the South Coast; and in 1860 no less than four laborious works were the published results of his incessant work. These were a second edition of "The Cathedrals of the United Kingdom, with a Popular Introduction to Church Architecture"; a kindred book entitled "The Minsters and Abbey Ruins of the United Kingdom, with Notices of the Larger Parish Churches"; "A Guide to the Coasts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk"; and "A Guide to the Mountains, Lakes, and North-West Coast of England", the latter two being wonderfully condensed descriptions of historical, legendary, and antiquarian subjects of interest. The next year was signalled by the issue of "Church and Conventual

Arrangement", with copious references, and illustrated by a series of ground-plans (many of which were acquired under his own personal supervision), and plates of the arrangements of churches in different countries; and a descriptive work on "The East Coast of England from the Thames to the Tweed". In 1862 Mr. Walcott wrote a monograph on the Priory of Christchurch, Twynham, Hants.; and in 1864 he edited the "Constitutions of Chichester Cathedral", and wrote an account of the Cathedral of St. David's, a lecture entitled "The Interior of a Gothic Minster", and a treatise upon "The Double Choir".

1865 was a very busy year with him. In its course were produced "Cathedrals: a Constitutional History of Cathedrals of the Western Church, and of the various Dignities, Offices, and Ministries, of their Members"; an edition of Plume's "Life of Bishop Hackett", with large additions and copious notes; a lecture on the "Precinct of a Gothic Minster"; "The Cathedral Cities of England and Wales"; and a series of "Memorials" of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chester, Manchester, St. Asaph, Bangor, Exeter, and Salisbury. The following year was equally productive. The "Documentary History of English Cathedrals" was issued in 1865-1866; the "Fasti Cicerestrenses", a work of immense research, printed in our *Journal* in 1866 and 1870; a treatise on "Mediæval Libraries" about the same time; numerous "Memorials" of the kind already mentioned; and a first rate "History of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin, Battle", of which a second edition was issued in 1867. The same year also saw his account of the antiquarian remains of Stamford, and a large number of papers and articles contributed to the literary and archaeological periodicals, chiefly bearing on the subjects of church goods, inventories of monasteries and religious houses, and gleanings from MSS. illustrative of the internal condition of churches and ecclesiastical foundations.

In 1868 Mr. Walcott brought out a work upon what he may justly be said to have by this time become a leading authority, entitled "Sacred Archaeology: a Popular Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Art and Institutions from Primitive to Modern Times." This has now a place in every antiquary's library as a most useful book of reference, replete with information and accumulated facts derived from Mr. Walcott's extensive and judicious reading. Passing over several works on Chichester, some poems and philological treatises, mention must be made of his "Notes on certain Rubrics from Canon Law, Judgments of the Ordinary, and Earlier Liturgical Directions", 1871; and "Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals", 1872, which was revised and enlarged in a second edition published in the same year. Another work of the prolific pen of this gifted author, and one by which he will be ever remembered, is the "Scoti-Monasticon: the Ancient Church of Scotland; a History of the Cathedrals, Conventual Foundations, Col-

legiate Churches, and Hospitals of Scotland", 1874. This book forms a valuable nucleus, upon which we hope some one hereafter, following the example of Ellis, Caley, and Bandinel, in respect to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, will found a critical and exhaustive history of Scottish monasticism.

We must be content merely to name a few of his later works of merit, such as "The Constitution and Canons of the Church of England referred to their Original Sources", 1874; two treatises (one printed in our *Journal*) on St. Mary's Abbey, Cleve, co. Somerset,—the recovery of the Abbey ruins being in a great measure due to Mr. Walcott's perseverance; monographs on the Abbeys of Evesham, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Malmesbury, and on Christchurch Priory, Hants.; "The Four Minsters around the Wrekin—Buildwas, Haughmond, Lilleshall, and Wenlock", 1877; "The Early Statutes of Chichester", 1877; and lastly, his "Monasticon", a companion to Dugdale's work of the same name, containing "Church Work and Life in English Minsters", with "Essays Architectural, on the Daily Life, External Relations, and History of the Cathedrals"; "Vestiges of St. Augustine's, Canterbury", also printed in our pages; and the "English Student's Monasticon", in alphabetical order, with references to the best authorities, 1879.

Mr. Walcott was also a frequent contributor to the press and to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, and Society of Antiquaries. Many of his shorter pieces will be found in the pages of *The Athenæum*, *Notes and Queries*, *Builder*, *Reliquary*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Archæologia Cantiana*, etc. To the British Museum he presented valuable manuscript collections on the family of Walcott, papers on suffragan bishops, and a series of plans and drawings of ecclesiastical remains. To *The Church and World* he contributed several essays on cathedrals; and *The Dictionary of Doctrinal Theology*, and Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, are indebted to him for several communications.

These works will always hold a prominent place in those classes of antiquarian research which he especially loved to examine and illustrate. Their general and undoubted utility, the loving spirit of fondness for the antiquity of sacred buildings and institutions which they display, and above all, the true feeling of a staunch upholder of our Church, which he ever evinced in his life and writings, are points which give him for ever a prominent place among the intellectual men of England who have passed away. Mr. Walcott leaves behind him many disciples who have learned much from his teaching, and they will not fail to reverence his opinions in matters wherein he was so accomplished a master.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archaeological interest, coming to their cognizance.

THOSE of our readers who take an interest in the *Roman villa lately discovered at Brading*, will be glad to know that a descriptive account of the villa, by Cornelius Nicholson, Esq., F.S.A., has just been published by Mr. E. Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London, handsomely printed, and illustrated from photographs. Price 1s. Crown 8vo.

The old Church at Escombe.—This interesting relic of Saxon times, has been reopened, after restoration, for divine service by the Lord Bishop of Durham. Mr. Longstaffe, in a paper read at a meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, September 1879, describes the building as “Saxon from end to end”. It is gratifying to know that this ancient edifice has been restored in a most satisfactory manner. Canon Greenwell, at a meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Archaeological Society, speaking of Escombe Church, said: “They had seen churches of great historic interest mauled and injured in many ways under the hand of the restorer; but in this instance a singularly interesting building had been preserved to them in its integrity. The work that had been done was simply a work of repair. It was not a restoration; and the edifice had not been harmed in any way. A work of restoration was destructive because, instead of being a work of preservation, it was in reality making a new building. Here they saw the building exactly as it was when it emerged from the hands of their Saxon forefathers.” The Vicar of the parish has made great exertions, and has succeeded in raising a considerable sum of money towards the cost of restoration; but there is still about £70 to raise. Subscriptions can be sent to the Rev. T. E. Lord, Escombe Vicarage, Bishop Auckland.

Opening of Steelley Chapel.—This beautiful little Early English chapel, near Worksop and Whitwell, visited as a ruin by the Association during the Sheffield Congress in 1873 (see *Journal*, xxx, p. 112), has been restored by J. L. Pearson, R.A., architect, and opened for divine service by the Bishop of Lichfield on November 2 last.

The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, of the British Empire for 1881. By JOSEPH FOSTER. (Nichols and Sons, 25 Parliament Street.)—Mr. Foster's *Peerage* is a very acceptable book to archæologists, and will be found one of the most useful works of reference that antiquaries have had lately laid before them. Necessarily, a work of this kind has to travel, for the most part, in well beaten paths; but where deviation from conventionalism may be made, Mr. Foster has not hesitated to strike out new and attractive ways which render his charming book not only very enticing, but vastly superior to works of the same class which have preceded it. The thankless labours of compilation, inseparable from the preparation of so comprehensive a subject as a *Peerage*, are only known to those who have had actual experience of such matters. There is, as is well known, a vast amount not only of printed but of manuscript matter which has to be carefully examined and critically weighed and contrasted with records which are frequently conflicting. It is in these points that literary and critical acumen is evinced; and it is here that Mr. Foster has shewn his aptitude for his task. The new features of tabulated pedigrees, classified indexes, and the highly artistic woodcuts of armorial bearings, give the book an immense superiority over its predecessors; and it is evident that no expense and no pains have been spared in its production. Mr. Foster's aim has been to produce a trustworthy book of reference, and to this end he has worked to an infinitely greater extent than has hitherto been attempted. In this he has had the valuable assistance of Garter King of Arms, and of some of the principal heraldic authorities at the College of Arms, at the British Museum, and at Edinburgh.

The revision of the unsupported statements with which so many genealogical text-books are overloaded, and the verification of those parts which possess a historical and antiquarian interest, compel us, and indeed all archæologists, to recognise gratefully any endeavour towards the rectification of the annals of ancient families. Our late Vice-President Mr. Planché, it will be remembered, took especial pains on many occasions to demonstrate errors and supply deficiencies in the hitherto received notices of the early aristocracy of England. Our *Journals* contain numerous corrections by that great authority. Hence the need of such a work as we have before us, which, although not arrogantly claiming infallibility, may be honestly asserted to be, both intrinsically and extrinsically, an advancement in a difficult and perplexing science.

The *Société Française d'Archéologie* will hold a Congress, from the 28th of June to the 3rd of July, at Vannes, in Morbihan, under the presidency of M. Léon Palustre, Director of the Society. Considerable attention will be paid to the archæological treasures of Brittany, a pro-

vince abounding in monuments of the megalithic ages, bronze antiquities, pre-Roman remains, Roman inscriptions, and artistic and historical relics of the middle ages. MM. L'Abbé Luco and Le Galle de Kerlinou, of Vannes, are the Secretaries to whom letters should be addressed by those wishing to take part in the Congress.

Our Associate Mr. JOHN BRENT, F.S.A., author of *Canterbury in the Olden Times*, has lately written a work entitled *Justine, a Martyr, and other Poems*, with archaeological notes and suggestions, which our readers will be glad to peruse. The scene of the principal poem is laid at the time of the great persecution of the Christians in the reign of Trajanus Decius. Mr. Brent's description of the Catacombs is of interest. Writing of early Christianity he says: "I have seen taken from the grave of an Anglo-Saxon child a minute golden bracelet, a few small beads (sometimes a single bead), and the bronze model of a little axe,—a plaything, doubtless. Some of these graves, however, though on the sides of the lone hills and downs of Kent, contain the bodies of Christians. Even amongst the Roman settlers or legionaries in England, two or three centuries before the advent of St. Augustine, there existed Christian men and women. I may record an interesting instance of a Roman grave found not long since in the parish of Barham, Kent. It lay unsurrounded by other interments; and amongst the relics were two small Roman pateræ, each inscribed on the under part with the Christian monogram."

A Report of the Kingdom of Congo, drawn out of the Writings of Duarte Lopez, by Filippo Pigafetta, in Rome, 1591. Translated by MARGARITE HUTCHINSON. With Facsimiles of the Original Maps. (Murray.)—Mrs. Hutchinson's new translation of this most interesting volume of early travel into the interior of Africa, will supply a want long felt by those who have followed the progress of the ethnological sciences. The last thirty years have seen the veil drawn back from a great part of the continent of Africa. The labours of Barth, Speke, Beke, and many travellers following in the steps of Livingstone, have combined to throw light on the so called "Dark Continent", of which, as Sir T. F. Buxton says in his preface to this book, we knew as little as the inhabitants knew of us. But we have, nevertheless, learned that much which has seemed to us so new has been, in fact, only rediscovered. The notes on the bibliography and cartography of Africa, and the maps of that continent, combine to render this elegant volume a valuable adjunct to the geographical antiquary. The accounts of the early globes will not fail to demand attention and stimulate inquiry on the part of those who are the fortunate possessors of such rare treasures of ancient cosmographic art.

The Boke of St. Albans, by DAME JULIANA BERNERS. *Reproduced in Facsimile, with an Introduction*, by WILLIAM BLADES. (E. Stock, Paternoster Row.)—In these days of love and veneration for what is old, it is not a matter of surprise that the attention of the learned should be directed to a careful investigation of the earliest examples of our press. Hence a series of well executed reproductions of our native *incunabula* is sure of a hearty welcome and support from the ever increasing number of book-lovers which antiquarian and archæological societies do so much to foster and instruct. The powerful agency of photography has, as we know by inspection of the plates issued by the Palæographical Society, brought us face to face with the most beautiful and important relics of manuscript art which have escaped the ravages of time and the not less destructive hands of the ignorant and vicious. Just so we have but to apply the magic wand of photography to the mystery of engraving, and lo! the rare and unique examples of the fifteenth century printers' art are multiplied a thousand fold. Mr. Stock's facsimile may not be free from defects inherent to the medium which he has employed for its reproduction, but it deserves respect and praise as the means of enabling libraries and bibliophiles to acquire what would otherwise be beyond their power to possess.

Mr. Blade's introductory remarks put on record, practically, all that can be said of the points of interest connected with the authorship, bibliography, and history of the *Boke*. From them we gather that much that is absolutely erroneous has been invented. The three treatises of which the book consists are quite distinct—hawking, hunting, and heraldry. To a portion only of one of these is attached the name of the author as "Dame Julyans Barnes", which has been altered by degrees to "Dame Juliana Berners", who is now universally, but unreasonably as Mr. Blades shews, received as the authoress of the whole volume. Mr. Blades admits, however, that the greater portion of the book on hunting was compiled by Mistress Barnes. She is supposed, but without evidence, to have presided over Sopewell Nunnery, near St. Alban's. The *Boke* itself, one of the only two English books printed at St. Alban's during the Caxton period, is dated 1486, and owes its origin to the anonymous "Schoolmaster", who appears to have used Caxton's No. 3 type in its pages. This is the only fount of Caxton's type which was used outside his own house; for in 1485 he obtained a new fount somewhat smaller, and then it is found that the larger and worn fount was passed over to the country press, where the "Schoolmaster" first uses it in 1486.

The work itself has no title, but comprises three distinct works. It has been frequently reprinted, but never in facsimile; and it is this fact which invests the present edition with a peculiarly interesting

value. The mysteries of hawking, an essentially aristocratic pursuit of the times, were likely to attract a large number of readers, for mimic war,—war on the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air,—war which could be pursued in times of peace, and yet required knowledge, patience, fortitude, and courage,—this had great attractions; and we cannot wonder at the general popularity of these pursuits.

The second treatise is on hunting, and all written in metre, evidently intended to be learned by heart; the chief cry of the hunter to his hound being “So how!” or, as we find it on seals of which the device is a hare or rabbit, ‘Sohov!’ The knowledge of when and how often these cries should be used was most important, as their proper use would “bring worship among all men”.

Perhaps the third treatise, upon coat-armour and the blazon of arms, is the most interesting portion of the book. The quaintness of the expressions and explanations is very amusing; and many, says Mr. Blades, will find more points of sympathy, both historical and technical, with this than with the others. Of the woodcuts with which this treatise is illustrated, we introduce that representing the arms of France and England quartered as a specimen of all. The author, in anxiety to honour the science, does not hesitate to take the reader back to Adam, whose spade, he tells us, was the first shield in heraldry, and who was the first to bear coat-armour: hence the heraldic device used by the chronicler Adam de Usk is a man digging, in way of allusion to his name. Some say coat-armour began at the siege of Troy; and, indeed, the device on the shields painted on Greek vases have a remarkably heraldic look. But if we may trust the author of this *Boke*, it was of far greater antiquity than that, and was founded on the nine orders of angels who were crowned each of them with a diadem of precious stones.



In conclusion, Mr. Blades sums up his remarks thus. “We have now traced the various aspects in which this curious book may be viewed. There is not one of them that would not repay much deeper study, and the reader will, doubtless, sympathise with the writer in the wish that more could be discovered concerning the ‘Schoolmaster’ printer. That his pioneer attempts to establish a printing press met with many discouragements was a matter of course; and doubtless he had many technical, business, and even social difficulties to overcome; for a reading public had to be created, and patronage was scantily afforded. Nevertheless, he struggled on for at least seven years, as we learn from the dates on his books; and whatever may have been his short-

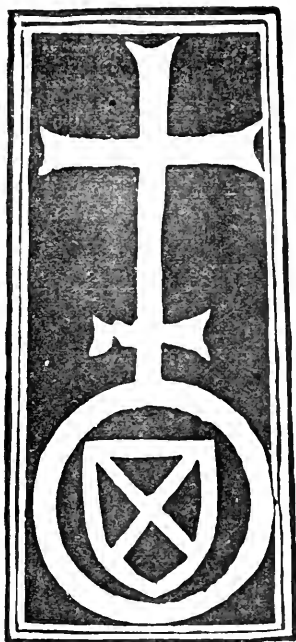
comings, either as author or printer, the fact of his having been one of the earliest promoters in this country of the grandest discovery which the mind of man has yet made, will unite us all in honouring the memory and respecting the name, shadowy though it be, of the 'Scole mayster of St. Albon.''' We can only express the hope, in closing this notice, that Mr. Blades will turn his attention to the reproduction of some more of these precious examples of early English printing, and issue them as elegantly and economically as the work we have at present before us.

Scotland in Early Christian Times.

By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. (Edinburgh: D. Douglas.)—

The work on Scottish antiquities which we brought before our readers in the pages devoted to antiquarian intelligence in the last number of the *Journal*—*The Past in the Present*—has been

rapidly followed by the issue of the book, the title of which stands at the head of this paragraph, also devoted to the examination of existing Scottish remains. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find two books on archæological subjects, published in England during the past year, which can compete with these in the excellence of their production and the logical and argumental value of their teaching. In one sense these two works exhibit a striking contrast: the one shewing how the typical archaism of the remotest past survives to the present day in a thousand various objects of every day use; the other, how the enlightenment of the present scientific age is needed by the accurate observer to be able to read aright the riddle whose solution the past will only yield to those who bring to bear upon it far more critical and accurate powers of discrimination than have hitherto been devoted to such tasks. The study of archæology is not, says the author, "merely the observation of phenomena and the classification of specimens", but there are certain principles and methods on the observance of which the scientific nature of the study depends. It is in the application of these principles and methods, unanswerable and unassailable, that the special value of this book lies. The elimination of the elements of



Mark of the Schoolmaster-Printer at the END of the *Boke*.

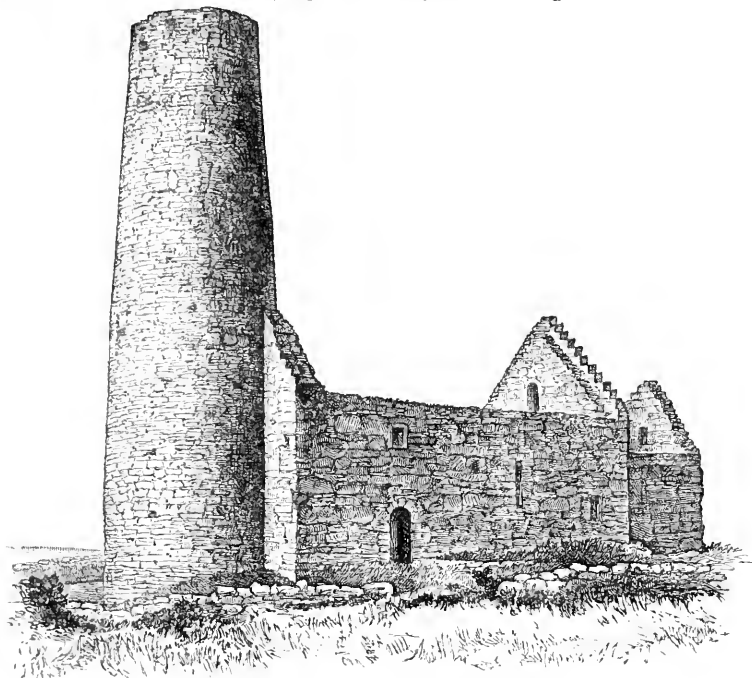


Exterior View of the Cell at Incheolm.



Ancient Uncemented Church at Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry.

conjecture and unwarranted generalisation from solecisms is a leading feature insisted on vehemently at every point; and the results of the author's observations are proportionately astonishing.



Egilsay Church.

Beginning at the twelfth century, the author works backwards from the border-land where the historic and the non-historic meet; and thus ascending instead of descending the stream of time, "we shall not at once find ourselves surrounded by objects that are completely strange or unknown, but will gradually proceed from those that are well known to others that are less known; finding always, as we advance, that while we are leaving behind us objects with features and characteristics that are familiar, we are also in equal measure becoming familiarised with others that are new and strange.

The lecture on the structural remains of the early Celtic church discusses the church of St. Regulus at St. Andrew's, a beautiful ruin, which has been assigned to many and various dates, probably between the tenth and twelfth century. Proceeding further back, a valuable notice is made of the chancelled church on the island of Egilsay, with its round tower joined on to the west end of the nave; the tower, nave, and chancel, lying in the same axis of direction. There are but two towers similar to this in Scotland. Of these, one is at Brechin in Forfarshire, adorned with a doorway of unusually interesting features,

the jambs inclining towards each other, and the arch formed of a single stone. These towers may be considered as outlying specimens of a well marked type, of which no less than seventy-six still exist in Ireland, which country is known to have possessed at least twenty-two others.



Doorway in the Brechin Tower.

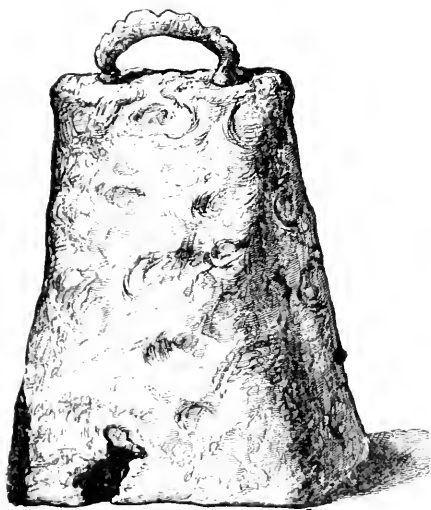
As we proceed we find an older Irish style, shewn here by the church of St. Kevin at Glendalough, where the tower is reduced to a diminutive structure, perched on the apex of the gable as a belfry. But this change is but a step, for at the end of the research we find the most primitive types of all,—an edifice consisting of but one chamber, one doorway, and one window, all of the smallest possible dimensions, and divided by the presence or absence of lime or mortar into two varieties, of which it is superfluous to say the oldest must needs be that which consists in the placing of stone upon stone without any binding material to keep them together. Of the mortared variety we see an excellent example in the Cell of Incheolm, beside the ruins of the well known monastery on that island, a view of which is given on the



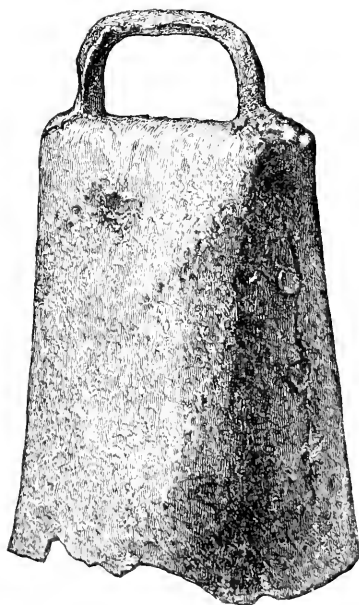
St. Patrick's, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.



Armagh.



Birsay, 9 inches high.

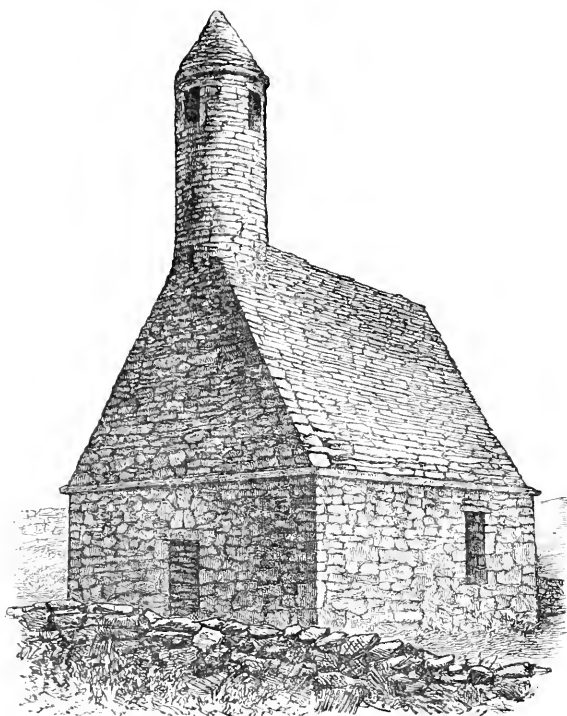


Fortingall, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high

CELTIC BELLS.

CHORDA

accompanying Plate. But rude as it is, it shews details of advancement from characteristics of the earliest forms of structure consecrated to religious services, when the Church was first permanently planted



St. Kevin's Church.

in Scotland. Of the earliest type of Celtic church, the author figures the ancient uncemented church at Kilmalkedar, in the county of Kerry, whose walls are not perpendicular, but gradually converge from the foundation until they approach each other near enough to support roofing of flat slabs (see Plate), exactly as the chambers in the walls of pagan forts and pagan sepulchres are roofed. The inside measurements are 17 feet by 10 feet. The island of Lewis affords specimens of this most primitive type.

Restriction of space prevents our dilating on the chapter devoted to the books that were written and illuminated by men who occupied these early structures, and were used in the service of the Church contemporarily with the construction of these edifices. The chapters devoted to ancient Celtic bells is very valuable to us, as it treats of and classifies most of the known examples. Of these we may note here "The Bell of Birsay", found in a cist, and now in the Scottish Museum; "The Fortingall Bell"; "St. Patrick's Bell", of hammered iron coated

with bronze; and an inscribed bronze bell at Armagh, recording a prayer for a personage known to have died in A.D. 904. The practice of enshrining bells among the Celts gives several instances, from which the illustration of the bell-shrine of Kilmichael Glassary, in Argyleshire, has been selected. This is of brass, with elaborate ornamentation of the time of the twelfth century. These objects, with others described and figured in Mr. Anderson's work, afford abundant evidence of the skill and artistic ability of the early Celtic race.



Bell-Shrine, Kilmichael Glassary.

This excellent work will be universally admitted to be one of the most compendious and handy productions which have been published upon points of which hitherto no exhaustive notices have been prepared. Mr. Anderson has kept his aims well in view throughout. In his concluding remarks he shews how, in the mean and rude dwellings of the period under examination, there existed "men possessing a quality of culture, and producing a system of civilisation, which it may be difficult for us to estimate at their true value in relation to those of our own day, but of which it is impossible for us to speak in terms of disparagement." Scotland is, perhaps, not the only country to which these remarks may be applied with equal force.

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JUNE 1881.

OPENING OF A ROMAN BUILDING ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE STATION VERLUCIO.

BY W. H. BUTCHER, ESQ., OF DEVIZES.

(*Read Feb. 2, 1881.*)

DURING the month of December the Rev. H. A. Olivier and Mr. Henry Cunningham, in conjunction with myself, commenced excavating in the field on the farm of Mr. Butler, in the parish of Bromham, Wilts, where the Roman pavement viewed by the members of the British Archaeological Association at the Devizes Congress, in August last, was found. At one end of the pavement, and about a foot under ground, we came upon the top of a foundation-wall 3 feet thick. This we followed up, and have now lengths, almost in a straight line, of 29 feet, 24 feet, and 27 feet; there being breaks in it of 7 feet, 19 feet, and 13 feet, respectively; but remains of foundations are to be traced in these, so we may conclude that this was a continuous wall of 135 feet, with possibly a doorway at the 19 feet break. The 29 feet of this wall nearest the road is not quite in the same line with the remainder, being slightly set back; and this piece is also broken by a part being recessed to a depth of about 6 inches.

We also laid bare the foundations of three nearly complete chambers, the dimensions of two being 16 feet by 14 feet, and 16 feet by 5 feet, respectively. The third chamber is almost semicircular in shape, but the ends slightly more *stilted*, and is 30 feet by 20 feet, bisected

by a flue, from which another springs at right angles. There are also traces of other flues here.

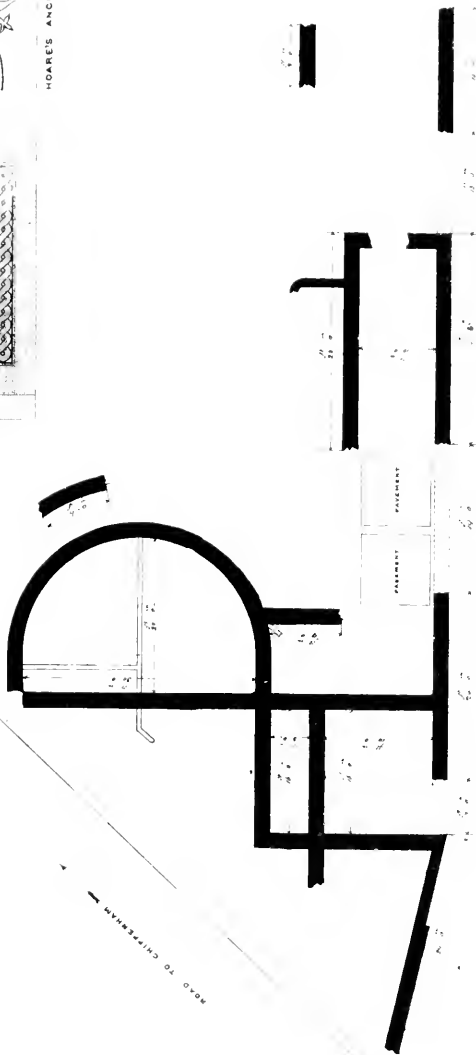
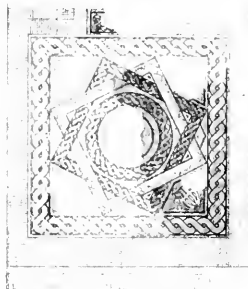
We also laid bare further foundations, as shewn on the plan.

The pavements have not been uncovered; but it is intended they shall be when the operations are recommenced, in order that drawings may be taken; and if possible the pavements themselves will be removed, and preserved in the Devizes Museum. I would mention there is a wall of about a foot in thickness dividing them, thus reminding us of the double reception-room at the lately discovered villa at Brading. The chambers have not yet been excavated; but this will be done as soon as the weather allows, when probably we shall discover the hypocaust and any hidden treasures there may be.

At present we have only found broken vessels of various kinds of ware, including some Samian, and some with a black glaze on the inside of the vessel; bones of the ox, deer, sheep, hog, and goat, oyster-shells, a considerable quantity of tiles, parts of flue-tiles, flooring-tiles (one with the impress of a dog's foot), roofing-nails, and one bronze coin of Constantius II, c. 353 A.D., not in good condition. This coin is interesting as being a Christian emblem coin.

It will be observed that the modern road from Devizes to Chippenham runs close to the foundations now laid bare; and it is very possible, I think, that if excavations were made on the other side of the road, we should come upon more of the remains, and some light might be thrown on the building, as to whether it was a villa or baths; but from the smallness of the amount of foundation at present laid bare, it is, I should think, almost impossible to form a conclusion on this point. The whole or portions of these foundations, on three previous occasions, have been opened up,—firstly by Sir Andrew Baynton about the close of the last century; secondly by Sir Henry C. Hoare in 1810, who appears only to have opened the pavement, and thus describes it in his *Ancient Wilts*: “The fourth and last tessellated pavement which I have to commemorate is situate in the parish of Bromham, near Calne, about three quarters of a mile south of the Roman station of Verlucio, and on the east side, and close to the turnpike-road leading from Chippenham to

HOARE'S ANCIENT WILTS



ROAD TO CHIPPENHAM



Devizes, having Bromham House about a quarter of a mile to the east. The large arable field in which the Roman pavement was discovered is called 'West Park', in the parish of Bromham, belonging to Dr. Starkey, and is at the present time occupied by Mr. Joseph Pepler of Bromham House Farm. On the south-west of this field, at about the distance of half a mile, is the village of Bromham. Although I have, for the first time, been enabled to introduce this pavement to the public, yet I cannot boast of being the discoverer of it; but having heard of its existence, I had the curiosity to see it re-opened in 1810, under the superintendence of Mr. Cunnington; and though it had certainly been investigated previously to our attempt, yet fortunately enough of it was left to make it worthy of record in the annexed plate."

Lastly, the late J. Stoughton Money, Esq., F.S.A., found part of a tessellated pavement and baths, two sepulchral urns (one of these is now in the Devizes Museum), with human bones, bone pins, some coins of Gallienus, Alexander, Crispus, and Victorinus, together with some black and red pottery.

In a field about a quarter of a mile from the building, in the opposite direction to the station, are some very interesting remains of an ancient square camp. The val-lum on the south and east sides is perfect, and measures 36 chains.

The neighbourhood of this building and of the Roman station at Verlucio is rich in Roman villas. Two sites of Roman residences have been discovered near Chilway Heath and Silver Street. There was another between the mansion and water at Bowood; another on Studley Hill, near Calne, where numerous coins have been found, as well as at Heddington in the same neighbourhood; and doubtless many still remain concealed under ground.

Should our further researches be crowned with success, I trust the Association will allow me to lay a report of our doings before it at a future meeting.

TRETHEVY STONE.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read December 3, 1879.)

TRETHEVY STONE is one of the two finest dolmêns in Cornwall, being little, if at all, surpassed by Zennor Quoit, in the same county. It crowns a small hill conspicuously placed in the midst of an amphitheatre of higher land, standing about three quarters of a mile north-east of the village of St. Cleer, and within a mile and a half of the Hurlers,¹ Doniert's Stone, and other remains of antiquity.

From their silence with respect to it, we may suppose that Trethevy Stone was unknown to most of the early writers who have treated on the topography and antiquities of Cornwall: but some also, who cannot have been unaware of its existence, have equally ignored it. It is not mentioned either by William of Worcester, or by Leland, Carew, Camden, Tonkin, Dr. Borlase, Grose, Maton, or Warner. Norden, however (*circa* 1584), visited, and was the first to describe it.²

"*Tretheuic*, called in Latine *Casa gigantis*, a litle howse rayased of mightie stones, standing on a litle hill within a feilde, the forme herevnder expressed." [Here he gives a view of the dolmên which will be more particularly referred to presently.] "This monument standeth in the parish of *St. Cleer*. The couer being all one stone, is from A to B 16 foote the length, the bredth from C to D is 10 foote, the thicknes from G to H is 2 foote; E is an arteficiall holl 8 inches diameter, made thorowgh the rooffe very rounde, which serued as it seemeth to putt out a staffe, wherof the howse it selfe was not capable: F was the dore or Entrance."

Next in order of date³ is the description of this dolmên by Britton and Brayley,⁴ which they illustrate by a fairly correct view, looking east.

¹ Of which a plan and description were published in the volume of this *Journal* for 1879, pp. 297-307.

² *Speculi Britannicæ pars*, Cornwall, pp. 88, 89.

³ I have not been able to refer to Hals' *Parochial History* to see whether he mentions Trethevy.

⁴ *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1801, vol. ii, p. 389.

"To the above objects of curiosity may be added a Cromlech, which we believe has not hitherto been mentioned by any writer, but Norden, though it is more curious, and of greater magnitude, than that of Mona, or any other we are acquainted with. It stands about a mile and a half north-east of St. Cleer, on an eminence commanding an extensive tract of country, particularly to the east, south, and south-west, and is provincially denominated *Trethevy Stone*.¹ On the north the high ground of the moors exalts its swelling outline above it. It is all of granite, and consists of six upright stones, and one large slab, covering them in an inclined position, with another reclining under it. The impost measures 16 feet in length, and 10 broad, and is at a medium about 14 inches thick. It rests on five of the uprights only,¹ and at its upper end is perforated with a small circular hole. No tradition exists as to the time of its erection; but its name at once designates its being a work of the Britons, and sepulchral. The term *Trevedi* (*Treethi*) signifying, in the British language, the place of graves."

Bond, the author of *Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Boroughs of East and West Looe*, visited Trethevy in 1802, and thus records his observations:²

"About a mile from St. Cleer church...stands a most magnificent cromlech on a barrow in a field, near the high road, on the tenement called *Trethevy*. A friend who was with me took a rough measurement of the upper, or covering, stone, and calculated it to be about five tons weight. The stones which form this cromlech are supposed to have been brought some miles from where they stand, as there are none of the same kind near it. That this is a work of art, there cannot be a doubt. We can hardly, however, suppose it possible that such immense stones could have been brought from a distance and erected in the manner they are. What machinery was used baffles all conjecture. The upper, or covering, stone has a hole in it;—for what purpose I have no idea, unless to support a flag-pole. One of the party remarked it might have been meant for a chain to drag it by; but I rather thought it too near the edge for that purpose."

Mr. W. C. Borlase gives a tolerably complete account of Trethevy Stone, the principal points in which I will here quote.³

"The largest, though, perhaps, the least known of the Cornish cromlechs is that of *Trethevy*, *Treethy*, or, as the common people call it, *Tredary*, in the parish of St. Clere. The earliest account of it

¹ Incorrect.

² Quoted in Davies Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall*, 1838, vol. i, pp. 193, 194.

³ *Nenia Cornubiæ*, pp. 45-51.

is given by Norden....Two more recent notices of it appear respectively in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, and the *Report of the Penzance Natural History Society* for the year 1850; in the former the author being S. R. Pattison, Esq., F.G.S., and in the latter, E. H. Pedler, Esq....The monument consists of six upright stones, upon the upper edges of three of which an oblong covering stone is at present diagonally resting. An eighth stone, probably at one time the supporter at the western extremity, has fallen lengthways along the cist, leaving that end open, and throwing the whole burden of supporting the horizontal stone upon two side stones. These latter have consequently been forced out of the line at their base, and bowed inwards at their top, giving a circular or triangular form to that end of the cist.”...Mr. Pattison thinks “the fall of this western pillar caused the superincumbent stone in its descent to break off the upper portions of the side stones.”

After giving some dimensions, Mr. Borlase continues: “But the most remarkable feature in this cromlech...is the fine *mênhir* which forms the principal and eastern supporter. In the choice of this stone, as well as in its erection, the greatest care and labour were evidently displayed. On the outer face it presents a smooth surface of finely grained granite, while the squareness of the upper end, and the well coyned angles, give it almost the appearance of a wrought stone....To render it more secure, another and ruder pillar, of nearly equal height, is projected like a buttress against one side of it....The fallen stone once closing up the western end, seems to have been considerably longer than the side stones, so that it is not improbable that this monument was originally a *trilithon*....The pit in the centre” of the cist “shews that the stones rest not on the mound, but on the natural surface of the ground....Two...features in this monument...have given rise to a considerable amount of speculation. The first is an aperture in the lower end of the eastern stone so much resembling an artificially constructed means of access to the chamber that Norden does not hesitate to call it ‘the dore or entrance’. The height of the door is 2 feet, and its breadth 1 foot 9 inches. Mr. Pattison considers that it ‘exhibits marks of art’, but on an examination of the stone in December 1871, the author came to the conclusion that the fracture, if not the natural configuration of the stone, *might* have been accidentally caused either at the time of its transportation from the quarry, or during its erection. The second feature to be noticed is a hole, from 6 to 8 inches in diameter, in the north-east corner of the covering stone. It is more oblong than round, and is placed immediately above the ‘entrance’ just described. The circumstance of a hole being so frequently found in the dolmens of eastern Europe and India has induced some antiquaries to form a comparison between them and the Trethevy Stone; but in the former cases the hole is always in one of the side stones, and communicates with the interior of the the chamber, while in the latter it is pierced through an overlapping portion of the roof. Norden speaks of it as ‘an arteficial holl

...which served as it seemeth to putt out a staffe, wherof the howse it selfe was not capable.' Mr. Pattison confirms this opinion by mentioning that the 'sides are smooth as if worn by a staff'; and", Mr. Borlase concludes, "such is without doubt the true account of it."

None of the other authors who mention Trethevy (so far as my researches have extended) appear to have seen it, but they draw their descriptions from some of those I have quoted.

The plan and views of Trethevy Stone, which illustrate this paper, will be found to be much more accurate and detailed than any which have hitherto been published. The former has been constructed from elaborate measurements, and the "orientation" fixed by reference to careful observations of magnetic bearings, an allowance having been made for a local deviation of $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west, which, according to the best information I have been able to obtain, must be very near to the truth. The view of the south side is copied from a photograph; the others from drawings taken on the spot.¹

There is no evidence to shew that this dolmên has suffered the least change since the time of Norden, whose view of its northern side—very good for the time when it was executed, allowing for evident artist's and engraver's errors—represents it just as it stands at the present day. The principal discrepancies in his picture are, that it represents the hole in the impost as perforating its edge horizontally; and the "dore" as in a stone distinct from the eastern supporter, and standing out flush with the edge of the north-eastern side-stone. Doubtless, this is but an artist's device for combining in one view the features of two.

Trethevy Stone consists of eight principal members forming one large covered cist, with an *annexe*, crowning a low mound. For convenience of reference most of the stones are numbered on the plan. Six of these, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7, remain standing; one, No. 6, has fallen; and the eighth is an inclined "table-stone" or "impost",

¹ The "orientation" of other Cornish dolmêns is given in my "Notes on Chywoon Quoit" (see the volume of this *Journal* for 1877, p. 178). The bearing of Trethevy Stone there recorded, which was only roughly approximate, is correctly given in the plan with this paper.

firmly resting on three supporters, Nos. 1, 3 and 5. The mound, composed of earth and fragments of stone, is generally about 3 feet high ; but, within the area of the cist and the *annexe*, the surface is about a foot lower, or 2 feet above the level of the field. It is probable, as Mr. Borlase says, that the standing stones are founded on the natural surface. The slabs (granite) of which this dolmên is built, though not produced on the spot, could have been obtained from an adjoining hill at a short distance, over which the difficulties of transport would not be great. It must be evident to those who look at the large gaps over stones 2, 5 and 4, that it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, to close these so as to exclude the soil from the interior of the dolmên, if it were originally entirely buried in a mound ; to say nothing of the impossibility of keeping the *annexe* clear. And this is only one of many instances which support the theory that "free-standing dolmêns" were recognized forms of ancient sepulchral architecture.

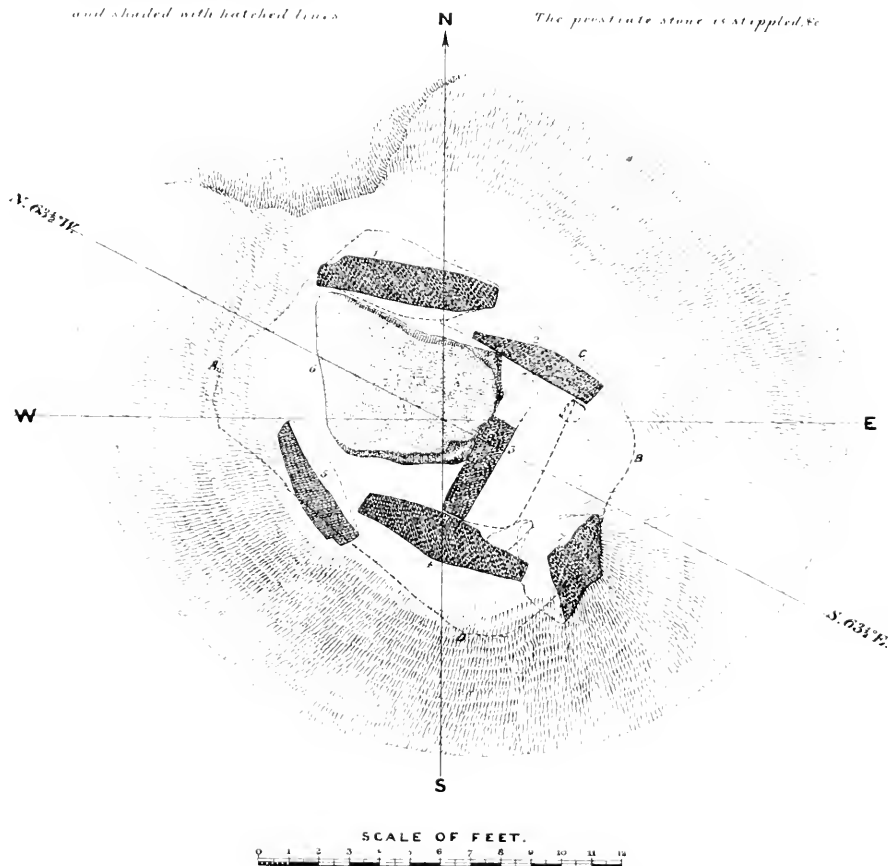
When stone No. 6 was erect, the cist must have been about 6 feet square. The *annexe* is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long transversely, and about 3 feet wide. The length of the table-stone between A and B is $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its width between C and D 10 feet. Its thickness varies considerably, but may average 14 inches. The eastern supporter, No. 3, stands 10 feet above the floor of the cist, and is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and from 10 to 11 inches thick. No. 7 stone stands about 9 feet above the floor of the cist, and leans toward No. 3 ; but is not, as Mr. Borlase says, "projected like a buttress against one side of it", there being an interval of nearly 3 inches between them at the top ; and they are kept apart by a small stone, about 18 inches by 8 inches, (visible in the plan and in the view of the northern side), which is inserted at the level of, and is partly supported by, the upper edge of No. 4. Nevertheless, No. 7 was probably intended to serve, in part at least, the purpose of a buttress. The highest point of the table-stone (the north-east corner) is 12 feet 8 inches above the mound, or about 15 feet 6 inches above the level of the field : the lowest point (the south-west corner) is 4 feet 9 inches above the mound, or about 6 feet 3 inches above the level of the field. The soffit of the table-stone

TRETHEVY STONE: A DOLMEN NEAR ST CLEER, CORNWALL.

Assumed deviation of the Magnetic Needle, 19½° W.

*Sectional plan of erect stones
taken at the level of the ground
and shaded with hatched lines*

*Overhangs, and Table stone with
hole, are drawn in dotted outlines
The prostrate stone is stippled, &c*



Measured by C. W. Dyson, C.E., 12th Sept. 1877

over the western edge of the fallen stone, No. 6, is 5 feet 4 inches from the floor ; the exposed length of this stone being 6 feet 11 inches. That it was originally erect, and that it touched, if it did not support, the cap-stone, is probable from the analogy of similar structures, particularly the "quoit" at Zennor, whose western stone (now fallen inward) is shewn in Dr. Borlase's view as standing, and, apparently, supporting the cap-stone which became displaced, and slid to the ground on one side, when that support was removed. But the discrepancy between the visible length of No. 6, and the height of the space above it, does not prove that the stone, when standing, was too lofty for its position, as it is clear that some part of that length must have become exposed only when the stone fell. It is quite possible, too, that No. 6 may originally have leaned a little inward, the more easily to accommodate itself to the headway.

After careful examination, I am convinced that Mr. Borlase and Mr. Pattison were mistaken in thinking that the table-stone has slipped, and has not only dislocated, and bowed inward, Nos. 1 and 5, but also fractured their tops. The table-stone rests for about 3 feet along the inner edge of No. 3, which has evidently been hammered away to a rough line to receive it. It also rests on two small surfaces of No. 1, 18 inches apart, which appear to have been artificially bedded, and on the apex of No. 5. Indeed, considering the rudeness of the structure, so skilful is the fitting, that it is not easy to regard it as the result of dislocation, especially as it is most improbable that the present supporters, Nos. 1 and 5, have given way, founded, as they doubtless are, on the solid ground, and kept in place by the embanked filling within and without. I have, therefore, no doubt that the plan of this dolmên, though rather unsymmetrical, has remained unaltered since the stones were set up.

With regard to stone No. 7, another point is worthy of consideration. A comparison of Trethevy Stone with Zennor Quoit (of which it is, in the main features, an almost complete duplicate) strongly suggests the query whether No. 7 was designed to do duty only as a buttress. Its analogue in the Zennor dolmên is a wing-stone in the form of a thin, flat slab, nearly 11 feet long, and 7 feet

high, standing edgewise across the eastern end of the south-eastern side-stone which, as well as the corresponding north-eastern side-stone, projects considerably behind the main eastern transverse supporter. Another and similar, though smaller, wing-stone stands across the end of the north-eastern side-stone. An interval, 2 feet 2 inches wide, is left between the two wing-stones giving access to the secondary cist. or *annexe*, which is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long transversely, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Now it is possible that No. 7, though not very shapely for that purpose, may have been regarded as a wing-stone; and a *vis à vis* may have been planted at the north-eastern corner, and afterward removed; or may have been destined for the place, but never set up. Otherwise, it is difficult to say why seven-eighths of the rectangular *annexe* should have been inclosed, and the remaining small part of its fencing omitted.

And this leads us farther to speculate as to which end (if either) of such a structure as this was regarded as the front, and which as the back. Was the fallen western stone the door? Or was the eastern *annexe* a very rude effort to produce a species of portico *in antis*?

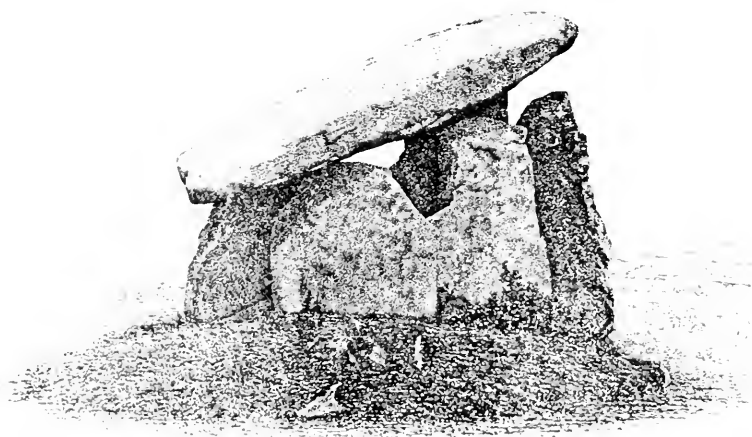
Two other features peculiar to Trethivy Stone remain to be noticed. One of them is the hole through No. 3. Its position and shape are accurately represented in the view of the east end. Its sides are respectively 2 feet 10 inches and 2 feet 1 inch high, and its width 1 foot 9 inches. I agree with Mr. Borlase in thinking that the indications point to its having been produced by a natural fracture rather than by the agency of tools. There is only one mark suggestive of the latter, and that is a slight notch, shewn in the view, which is continued for an inch or two above the left hand top corner, as though it were part of a chisel-draught cut to insure a neat fracture of the stone. But, to set against the theory that the hole is artificial, we have the facts that this granite often naturally breaks into regular rhomboidal masses; that, in accordance with this, the left hand side of the hole is parallel to the left hand, or southern, edge of the stone in which it occurs; and that this southern edge, as well as the jamb and soffit of the opening, are all equally weathered to a comparatively smooth surface which con-



TRETHEVY STONE.

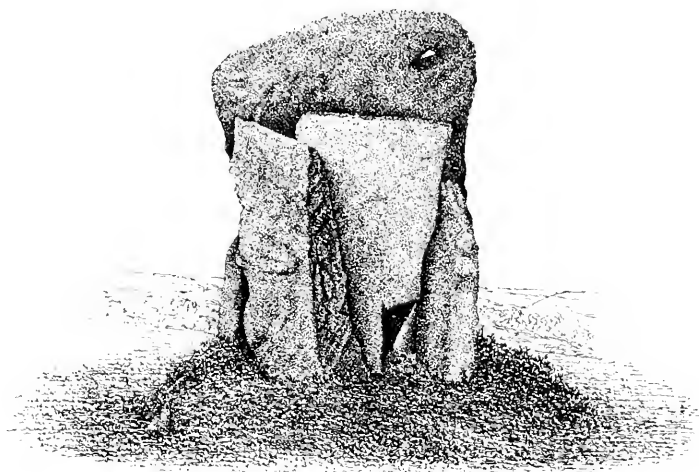


WEST END.



SOUTH SIDE.

TRETHEVY STONE.



EAST END.



NORTH SIDE.

trasts with the jagged line of the upper edge of the same stone, with the upper edge of No. 1, and with the hole in the cap-stone, and the under surface surrounding it,—all of which clearly shew indications of cutting or chipping. A similar rhomboidal hole is broken out of the great standing-stone in the Cove at Stanton Drew;¹ but, in the discussion on that megalithic group, I have adduced good reasons for concluding that those are not the ruins of a dolmèn. Another instance—the only one of which I have seen any notice—of the existence of a hole at the bottom of one of the side-stones of a cist is furnished by the dolmèn of Grandmont, in Bas Languedoc, a view of which is given by Dr. Fergusson.² It is, however, represented as having a very ragged outline, probably due to the nature of the stone out of which it has been broken.

The only other feature remaining to be noticed—and it is the one which has been the greatest *crux* to antiquaries—is the hole in the table-stone, the size, shape, and position of which are accurately shewn in the plan. It is rudely rectangular, 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is cut, not perpendicularly to the face of the stone, but nearly vertically to the ground. It looks toward a point about 1 foot to the east of that to which a plummet from its centre would fall; or, in other words, is about 5° out of the upright. We have seen that two theories as to the use of this hole have been proposed,—the one, that it was intended to pass a chain or rope through to facilitate transport; the other, and the favourite one, that it was cut to receive a mast or flag-pole. To both of these theories there appear to be very serious objections: the first arising from the transverse position of the hole. Had it been destined for either of the suggested uses, it would have been cut longitudinally; in the one case to weaken as little as possible that part of the stone near its corner on which the strain would come; and in the other, to facilitate the erection of the mast. The second objection springs from the fact that every side and angle of the hole is tooled, which would be quite superfluous for haulage purposes, and impossible to have been produced by

¹ For a view of which, see the volume of this *Journal* for 1877, p. 304.

² *Rude Stone Structures*, p. 344.

the friction of a round mast, even if it could be conceived how this could have such play and abrasive power as to wear away the face of the stone. Nor, if the mast were steadied by wedges, would such careful shaping of the hole be at all necessary. But a third objection may, perhaps, arise from a fact which does not appear to have been before noticed, viz., that the outer upper edge of stone No. 3 underlies fully one third of the area of the hole, as may be seen in the plan. Now, though this still leaves room for a pole from 3 to 4 inches in diameter, it seems more probable that, had the orifice been intended for this purpose, it would have been cut so as to be quite clear of the stone below. Indeed, I think it must be evident that neither of the above explanations solves the problem; for masses quite as large as this table-stone were often transported and erected in structures of the same age without any trouble being taken to thread a rope through them; and as to the mast, it is purely conjectural, and needs stronger presumptive evidence than has yet been offered to establish its claim to be advocated.

Casting about, then, for other solutions of the puzzle, two theories suggested themselves to me, the first of which I mention here, only to explain to any who may independently have hit upon the same, why it seems quite untenable. It is, that this hole was cut with the view of suspending from it, out of reach of predatory beasts, a basket of food or other offerings to the departed to whom this tomb was erected. But for this purpose it would be unnecessary that the hole should be either so large or so well wrought as it is: moreover, it is so nearly over the inner corner of the eastern end of No. 2 stone, that there would not be room to suspend such a vessel, save at the height of many feet from the ground; indeed, very nearly as high as the cap-stone, if it were to be secure from molestation by animals. The second theory is one which, alone among those that have been offered, appears to be really free from difficulty. It is, that the hole was the socket for a cross which has since disappeared. We know that in Christian times such crosses were often erected in Brittany on these pagan monuments; and it is quite possible—though we have, I believe, no other known instance in England—that this was done here. The position of

the hole at the highest part of the structure; its transverse direction—the longer sides facing the ends of the dolmên; its rectangular shape—rude though this is; and the careful way in which its faces and some of its corners have been cut, so as to be nearly vertical—the error being only such as would naturally occur in guiding the work by the eye alone;—all are congruous with this hypothetic use; and I suggest that, in the absence of any more plausible theory, this may have been the purpose for which the hole was made. Though it can hardly be regarded as corroborative of this idea, it may be well to mention here that both Doniert's Stone and its companion, The other Half Stone, about a mile and a half distant (monuments of an early Christian age), have each a mortise sunk in the top, evidently for crosses which have been removed and lost. Before passing from this point, I may note that appearances indicate that this hole was cut from the upper surface downward, probably after the dolmên was erected, for a large flake has broken away from the under side; possibly during the operation, unless it were then merely shaken, and afterward detached by frost. If the latter, then the northern and eastern sides of the hole, which are only about 4 inches deep, while the south-western corner is 7 or 8 inches deep, may have presented better cheeks than they would now to steady the cross.

There is no record of any excavation of the ground within the cist: we do not, therefore, know whether the fall of the western stone was caused by such an operation, or whether it resulted from being imperfectly founded.

But structural peculiarities are not the only matters connected with this dolmên that have been themes for discussion. Even its name is regarded not only as of unsettled etymology, but as of uncertain form. For the last three hundred years at least it has been pronounced by the people in the neighbourhood *Trethēry*; sometimes with a rustic approximation towards *Tredury*. Norden spells it in his text, *Trethevie*; in the title of his view, *Tretheuye*; and in the margin, *Tretheaye*. The first and second are plainly only old methods of spelling *Trethery*; and the *a* in the third is probably a misprint for *u*. But for nearly a century since Pryce published his *Cornish*

Grammar and Vocabulary, it has been the fashion to think that the local name is a corruption of *Trevelthy*,—a word compounded of *tre*, a town, village, or dwelling, and the plural of *beth* (in combination transmuted to *vetth*), a grave: hence, town or place of graves. If, indeed, this were the original form of the name, at least one other plausible meaning might be extracted from it; e.g., *tree*, house, *etha*, great: hence, great house. But certain sober philological facts make it very unlikely that the suggested form is the true one. The transposition of *th* and *v* in the alternative words is quite conceivable, and, perhaps, not unexampled. But while the living name is pronounced with a long *e* in the emphatic penultimate syllable,—thus, *Tre-thē'-vy*, on the contrary, *Tre-vēth'-ow*, *Trem-bēth'-ow*, *Tre-vēr'-y*, and similar forms in Cornish, have the *e* always short. Now such change of vowel-quantity as would be implied if *Tre-vēth'-y* became corrupted into *Tre-thē'-vy*, is in the highest degree improbable; and, on this ground, I think it is time the advocacy of this hypothetical name was abandoned. The little group of cottages close by the dolmên is called *Trethery*; and it is probable that the latter took its title from the tenement on or near which it stands. The fact that there are two other tenements of exactly the same name in the county, and that a family named *Tretherey* lives, or lived, near Egloshayle, tends to establish its correctness. Its etymology has not been satisfactorily settled. Bannister, in his *Glossary of Cornish Names*, records two suggestions: the one, that *Thery* is a modification of *Dewi*,—hence, David's house; the other, that the complete name means dwelling of the god, hero, or chief (*de, dhe, go*). It remains but to note that in the Ordnance Map we find the tenement in question named *Trethery*, and the dolmên *Trethery's Stone*. Although there is another *Trethery* in Cornwall, it seems probable, from the total absence of published corroborative evidence in favour of the use of this form here, that it is only one of those engraver's errors from which our national maps are not quite free.

SOME EARLY DRAWINGS OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

BY REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., MINOR CANON
AND LIBRARIAN OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

(Read March 2, 1881.)

It is much to be feared that no antiquarian research will ever be able to discover the precise form and outline of the first cathedral dedicated to St. Paul in the great city of London. That Ethelbert founded a cathedral here in the days of the sainted Bishop Mellitus, and that he endowed it with the manor of Tillingham, "ad monasterii sui solatium, scilicet, S. Pauli", every one knows; but who can reproduce for us the cathedral at whose altars Mellitus and Erkenwald celebrated? The manor of Tillingham still remains the property of the Cathedral, and still supplies its fabric fund; but no tradition has preserved for us the form or even the dimensions of Ethelbert's cathedral. That it was destroyed by fire is certain, for the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*¹ record that "on the seventh day of July 1087, the Church of S. Paul in London, and all things that were therein, together with great part of the City, were burnt with fire, in the time of Maurice Bishop of London." The church was, however, rapidly rebuilt; but in 1137, according to the *Chroniculi*, was once more destroyed by fire: "Anno mcxxxvij combusta erat Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London per ignem ad pontem London accensum, et inde processit ad Ecclesiam extra Barras Novi Templi London."

We do not, it is true, know very accurately the extent of the conflagration of 1137. The words "combusta erat Ecclesia Sancti Pauli" are tolerably elastic. Dugdale says² "it had great hurt by a dreadful fire in the very first year of King Stephen's reign", that is in 1136. The dates do not quite agree; Matthew of Westminster placing it in 1135, Matthew Paris in 1136,³ and the *Chroniculi*

¹ Printed in the *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Society), p. 58.

² Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, edit. Sir Henry Ellis, p. 7.

³ Longman's *Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul*, p. 6, and my *Documents*, p. 58.

S. Pauli in 1137. Probably Dugdale is quite accurate in the expression, "it had great hurt".

The citizens of London loved their church too well to let it lie in ruins. The great work of reconstruction progressed under the fostering care of successive bishops, and in due time the stately structure, familiar to us by means of Hollar's admirable engravings, crowned the Pauline hill. When completed, the Cathedral stood within its walled enclosure,—the Bishop's Palace on the north-west; the Deanery on the south-west; the greater cloister on the north; the lesser cloister, with the chapter house, on the south; the minor canons' college on the north; those indispensable adjuncts, the bakehouse and the brewhouse, on the south; the residences for the clergy clustering thickly all round; the lower buildings only tending to magnify all the more the prodigious size of the Cathedral. It was a grand sanctuary, full of altars, shrines, and images; rich in goldsmiths' work and costly vestments, with store of manuscripts of Holy Scripture and of ancient rituals; with famous tombs where saints and kings and heroes slept; with places of pilgrimage well worn by the feet of the devout thronging from far off places to kneel in prayer within its consecrated walls.

How very striking must have been the view of old St. Paul's obtained by a visitor to London as he slowly sailed up the broad river Thames! No huge warehouses of seven or eight stories high, no giant railway-stations, interposed their vast bulk between him and the grand structure on the Pauline hill. The imposing mass of the long nave with its twelve bays, of the choir with its equally numerous arches, of the well developed transepts crowned by the delicate and lofty spire, far exceeding in height that of Salisbury, must have presented a very remarkable *coup d'œil*. Crowning, as the Cathedral did, the summit of the highest hill in the city of London,—

"WHEN YV HAVE SOUGHT THE CITY ROYND,
YET STILL THIS IS THE HIGH^T GROVND",¹

surrounded by the low houses of the dignified clergy and others, who dwelt under the shadow of the church, with broad gardens sweeping down the hill towards the river,

¹ Inscription on a stone still standing in Panyer Alley.

the view could not fail to impress the spectator. There is, in fact, good evidence that its beauty was appreciated, and that those who gazed upon the magnificent building desired to record their impressions of its grandeur. Thus in a very important *Chronicle* of the fourteenth century, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, the chronicler has been recording some interesting events connected with the history of St. Paul's Cathedral, and not satisfied with a verbal record, he adds in the margin a sketch of the church. Let us first hear what he has to say, and then examine his view of the Cathedral. He is writing of the year 1314. It may be convenient to present his *Chronicle* in an English dress :¹

"On the tenth of the Calends of June, Gilbert [de Segrave], Bishop of London, dedicated altars, namely those of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of the Blessed Dunstan, in the New Fabric of the Church of St. Paul, London.

"In the same year the cross and the ball, with great part of the campanile of the Church of St. Paul, were taken down because they were decayed and dangerous, and a new cross, with a ball well gilt, was erected; and many relics of divers saints were, for the protection of the aforesaid campanile and of the whole structure beneath, placed within the cross, with a great procession, and with due solemnity, by Gilbert the Bishop, on the fourth of the Nones of October; in order that the Omnipotent God and the glorious merits of His saints, whose relics are contained within the cross, might deign to protect it from all danger of storms. Of whose pity, twenty-seven years and one hundred and fifty days of indulgence, at any time of the year, are granted to those who assist in completing the fabric of the aforesaid Church.

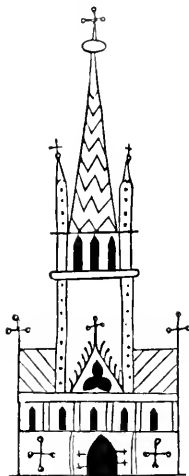
"In the same year was the said Church measured in length and breadth as well as in height; whose length contained 690 feet; its breadth, 130; the height of the western roof, from the pavement, 102; the height of the roof of the New Fabric, 88 feet; the 'cumulus'² of the Church contains 150 feet in height. The whole Church contains within its limits three and a half acres of land, one rood and a half, and six rods. The height of the campanile tower of the same Church contains, from the ground level, 260 feet; the

¹ It has been thought better to give a bald, literal version of the original than to attempt to rewrite, in modern English, the rough Latin of the chronicler. (Lambeth MSS., No. 1106, fo. 96 b.) The original Latin will be found in my *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Society), pp. 45, 46.

² In another measurement we read, instead of this word "cumulus", "altitudo corporis Ecclesie", i.e., the height of the body of the church.

height of the wooden fabric of the campanile, 274 feet. The total, however, does not exceed 500 feet. The ball of the same campanile is able to contain in its concavity ten bushels of corn. The length of the cross standing above the ball contains 15 feet; the transverse of the cross is 6 feet in length.”¹

And here the chronicler introduces a marginal sketch.



No. 1.

If it be taken, as we may fairly suppose, from the west, it exhibits the great west door, the transepts very much compressed, the central tower with pinnacles at each angle, and the lofty spire surmounted by a very large ball and cross.

It happens that we know, from the *French Chronicle of London* (edited by Mr. H. T. Riley), p. 251, something about these relics in the cross. They comprised “a part of the wood of the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, wrought in the form of a cross; a stone of the sepulchre of Our Lord; and another stone from the place where God stood when He ascended into Heaven; and another stone from Mount Calvary, where the cross of Our Lord was erected. There was also found a purse, and in this purse a piece of red sendal,² in which were wrapped some bones of the

¹ Those who are interested in the measurements of old St. Paul's should consult Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 61, and my *Documents*, pp. 191-193.

² *Sendal* or *condal*, a species of rich, thin silken stuff very highly esteemed. (*Halliwell's Dictionary*.) A kind of thin Cyprus silk, says Nares.

eleven thousand virgins [of Cologne]; and other relics, the names of which were unknown." These relics were found in the cross when it was taken down, and after having been shewn to the people by Master Robert de Clothale, Chancellor of the Cathedral, during a Sunday sermon, were replaced in the cross together with other relics. These precautions against tempest were cast in the teeth of the clergy at the time of the Reformation: "We needed not to fear, if your opinion were true," says one of their opponents,¹ "the burning any more of Paul's. Make a cross on the steeple, and so it shall be safe. But within these few years it had a cross, and reliques in the bowl to boot. Yet they prevailed not: yea, the cross itself was fired first."

By the great kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray I am enabled to add to this paper a hitherto unpublished account of a remarkable *Function* at St. Paul's Cathedral, in connection with the cross at the summit of the spire.

"The xvii day of May Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVIII. the xiii yere of Kyng Henre the vii bytuene iiij and vi of the cloke at afternoone, the Dominicall lettre G, the Crosse with the Bolle & Egell one Powles Steple wer halouyd with great & solempne observaunces. First, the procession goyng aboute the Chirchie *more solito*. That done, the Bysshope of London, then beyng called Maister Thomas Savage, with the Chanons and hole quere of Powles, knelyng aboute the said Crosse in the Body of the Chirche, said the vii psalmes. And that doone ii vicars saying the letaney, *Choro respondente*, the Bysshope red certayne colettes. And that doone he halouyd water & beganne Asperges me domine, *Choro respondente more Dominicali*, the Bysshoppe gooyng aboute & castyng holy water one euery partie of the Crosse with a Styk bounde fulle of ysop during the hole Psalme of Miserere mei deus. And that doone, the Bisshope sange the preface halouyng encensyng the Crosse & other Relykes that were put in the same Crosse. And thene was begune O crux splendidior & songun oute & ageyn repeated & in meane tyme the Bisshope sensed it at euery parte knelyng on his knees & put in the Ralykkes at iiij endes of the Crosse & closed them in with pynnes of Tymbre & lede, and thene opened the Bolle of the Crosse & put therin Reliques & it closed, agayne sensed it aboute & begane this Antempe Salvator mundi salva nos, and so departid vp into the quere, thes persones beyng present thene & ther, the said Bisshope, Docters Kerner, Owdeby, Cutfold, Draper & mouche other people. The length of the crosse from the bolle to the Egle is xv fote vi ynches of assyse. The length therof

³ Calphill's *Answer to Martiull*, p. 180. (Parker Society.)

ouerthwart v foote x ynches. The compasse aboute the Crosse at bolle iii fote & ii ynches. And the cumpas of the Bolle rounde aboute is ix fote & six ynche. The Maisters of the woorke were Pryoure of Elsyng Spittel. And the Inner parte of the Crosse is Ooke, the second parte is lede, and the ytter parte Coper coloured with rede varnysshe. The bolle and the Egle ben coper & gylt.¹

But to return to our first illustration.² I have submitted it to a well known architect, who says "the sketch of the spire is very curious, and I think, with you, that the man who drew it intended, after his fashion, to represent the actual building." The great height of the spire made it a most striking feature, towering up as if to pierce the very skies. This singular, and to him, no doubt, unique height greatly impressed the artist, who has recorded his recollections of it in a very spirited manner.

Our next example (No. 2) is taken from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection.³ The portion of the volume in which it occurs is described as a "Chronicon ab orbe condito ad obitum regis Edwardi I, h. e., ad annum 1307, a monacho quodam Roffensi conscriptum: cum figuris nonnullis, rudiori manu depictis, in margine." There are other treatises in the same volume, of which it is not necessary now to speak. The chronicle proceeds, at folio 17, to relate the founding of London:

"Civitas London condita est.

"Diviso tandem regno edificavit Brutus civitatem super Tamen-sem fluvium quam Troiam Novam vocavit, quæ postea per corruptionem Trinovantum dicta fuit. Hanc postea rex Lud frater Cassibellamii Kaerlud jussit vocari: quod nomen postea mutaverunt Saxones et vocaverunt civitatem Londone in lingua sua usque in presens tempus.

"Cognoverat etiam Brutus uxorem suam Imogen, et genuit ex ea tres filios, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Loerinus, Albanectus, Kamber. Et regnavit Brutus in Britannia xxiiij annis; et mortuus est: quem sepelierunt filii sui in civitate supradicta quam ædificaverat, quæ nunc est metropolis Anglorum."

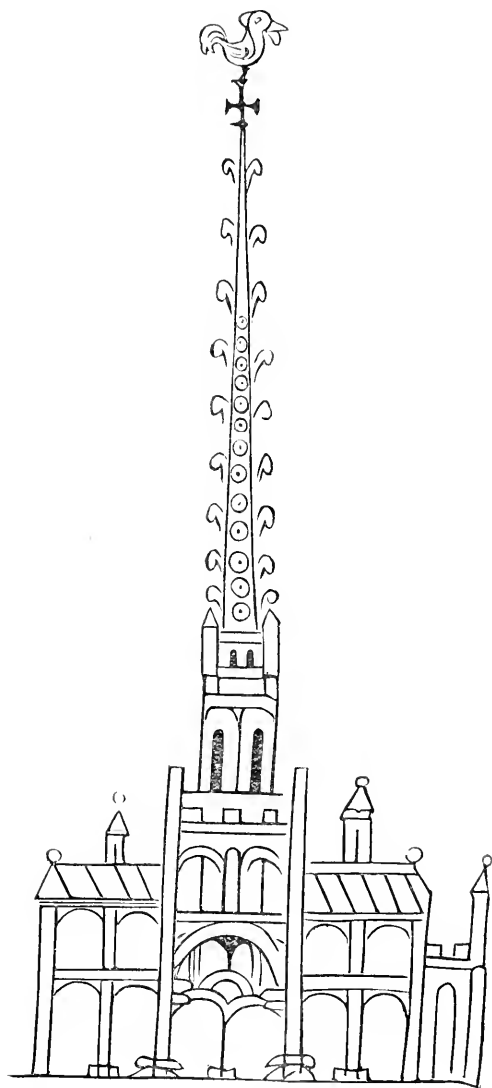
In the lower margin of this most interesting MS., and

¹ The above account is taken from Digby MS., Rolls 2, Bodleian Library.

² The woodcut is here reproduced by permission of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, in whose *Transactions* (vol. v) it originally appeared in illustration of a *Short Chronicle of St. Paul's*, edited by the present writer.

³ British Museum, Nero, D. ii.

connected by a bar with the word "London" in the margin of the passage just cited, is a drawing of St. Paul's Cathedral with an exceedingly lofty, crocketed spire surmounted by a weathercock. Some adjacent houses (not



No. 2.

shewn in our copy) are also indicated. Portions of this vigorous drawing are washed with a green paint. The

weathercock here delineated makes its appearance in more than one ancient chronicle. Thus in Ricart's *Kalendar*,¹ under the date 1422, we read: "This same yere, the xiiijth day of August, the newe wethir cokke was sette vpon Seynt Powles stepill in London." And again in Gregory's *Chronicle*² we find a similar entry: "The same yere, the xiiij day of Auguste, a newe wedyrcoke was sette at Powlys stypylle in London." The great height of the spire rendered the achievement of setting up the "wedyrcoke" worthy of special notice.

We are not concerned in the present paper with the chronicler's story of the foundation of London. Perhaps, however, it may be worth while to set down here the opinion of the late Dr. Guest, the Master of Caius College, Cambridge, upon the subject. He delivered a lecture on the campaign of Aulus Plautius in Britain, at the Royal Institution, and the lecture was reported in the *Athenæum*. I take this summary of its contents from a short paper communicated to *Notes and Queries* by the Rev. E. Marshall:³

"Aulus Plautius sailed from Boulogne A.D. 43, and his army, consisting of about 50,000 men, landed in three divisions at Hythe, Dover, and Richborough. But little opposition was experienced from the petty chiefs of Kent, the mutiny in Gaul having put them off their guard. A. Plautius seems to have advanced by Silchester and Marlborough to Cirencester, which became a fresh base of operations. He then probably went down the valley of the Thames by the ancient British trackway, the Icknield Way, which led across the Thames at Wallingford. Here a great battle was fought. Vespasian having forced a way across, Caractacus withdrew, and the next day's fight ended in a victory to the Romans. Plautius pursued the Britons along the Icknield Way by Tring, and then by the Watling Street southward. The Britons crossed the Thames by a ford, and the Romans higher up by a bridge, when they became entangled in the marshes, and retreated to await the arrival of Claudius. Where was it that they secured for themselves a place of safety? Dr. Guest's answer is contained in the following extract from his lecture: 'When Plautius withdrew his soldiers from the marshes they had vainly attempted to cross, he, no doubt, encamped them somewhere in the neighbourhood. I believe the place was London. The name of London refers directly to the marshes, though I cannot here enter into a philological argument to prove

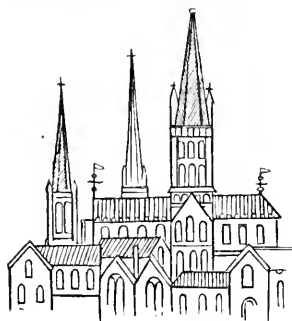
¹ Camden Society, *Ricart*, p. 38.

² Camden Society, *Gregory*, p. 148.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, III. 23.

the fact. At London the Roman general was able both to watch his enemy and to secure the conquests he had made, while his ships could supply him with all the necessaries he required. When, in the autumn of the year 43, he drew the lines of circumvallation round his camp, he founded the present metropolis of Britain. The spot he selected has been, perhaps with one small interval, the habitation of civilised man for 1,833 years. May we not venture to hope that its influence for good has not been altogether unworthy of the position it has occupied among the cities of the world?"¹

Our next example (No. 3) is taken from another MS. in the British Museum (Reg. 13, A. III), also of the fourteenth



No. 3.

century, but in a very different style of art. Here also the drawing is associated with the traditional account of the building of London. At folio 27 we read, "*Diviso tandem regno affectavit Brutus civitatem ædificare*", and so on. At the foot of the page, and extending upwards on each side of the text, is a minute but very careful sketch of the Cathedral, and of part of the great city. Lest we should doubt what city may be intended, the word LONDON stands conspicuously above the drawing. In the midst is St. Paul's. The view is taken from the north or south side; and the length of the Cathedral is indicated by four windows to the left of the central tower, and by three windows to the right. The tower itself has pinnacles at the angles, and is surmounted by a lofty spire with a cross at its summit. The elevation of the north or south transept is seen. The tower contains three long windows in each of its two stories,—six windows in all. The peculiar exigencies of the page on which the drawing is placed have compelled the draughtsman to

¹ *Athenæum*, August 4. 1866, p. 148.

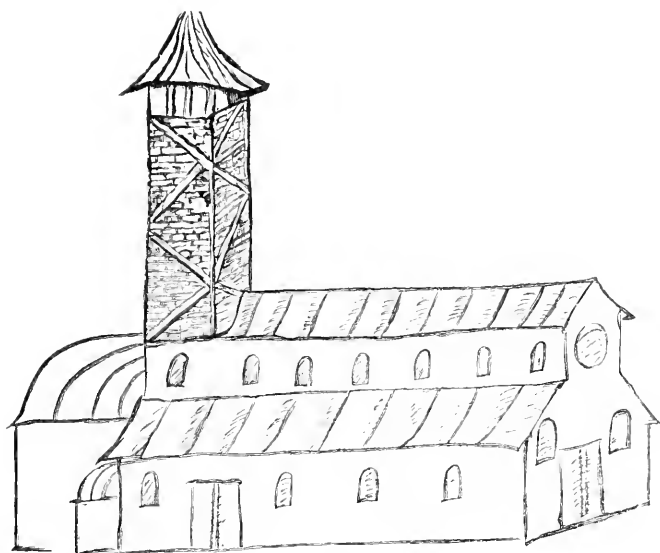
exhibit the Cathedral in miniature; whilst a lofty spire on the left, and a large building on the right (omitted in our reproduction), are able to run up the inner and outer margin of the page, and so to appear as if they were of greater importance than the Cathedral itself. The volume is enriched with views of Winchester, Leicester, Gloucester, Rome, and many other cities.

A fourth example may be found in a magnificent MS. of the time of Henry VII. in the British Museum, in the Royal Library (16, F. ii). It comprises "Poésies de Charles duc d'Orleans", "Epitres de l'Abbesse Heloys", "Des Demandes d'Amour", "Le Livre dit Grace Entière." At folio 73 of the first work is a fine, full-page illumination representing a scene in the Tower of London. Above is old London Bridge and the city of London; and in the very heart of the city is St. Paul's with its spire. Distance has diminished the Cathedral very greatly; but the manner in which its spire catches the light is very cleverly indicated. The whole page is an admirable specimen of French art; but it is far too elaborate to be copied upon an octavo page.

How far do these drawings represent the actual appearance of the Cathedral? Fortunately we have Hollar's beautiful plates in illustration of Dugdale's *St. Paul's*; but as the first edition of Dugdale was not issued till 1658, and as the noble spire fell in the disastrous fire of 1561, we have only the truncated tower left to us. "There is every indication that the central tower was treated as a lantern internally, and was open up to the base of the spire, or at any rate high enough to exhibit internally the effect of the first tier of windows. The view presented to a spectator standing under the crossing must have been very grand....The very long, narrow windows in the tower gave it, architecturally speaking, a French tone, though the details are evidently pure Early English."¹ The arrangement of these three very long windows in the lower story of the tower, with those lesser windows above them, is clearly indicated in drawing No. 2. The pinnacles, or little turrets, at the angles of the tower had disappeared in Hollar's time: they probably shared the fall of the great spire.

¹ Longman's *Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul*, pp. 33, 37.

For the last of the illustrations of this paper (No. 4) I am indebted to the great courtesy of the Rev. Walter Sneyd, Keele Hall, Newcastle, Staffordshire. Whilst reading the account of the MSS. belonging to this gentleman, given in the *Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, I was much struck with the brief summary given of the following book: "A quarto volume of about 300 pages.



No. 4.

Consists of a Diary of Alessandro Magno, a Venetian gentleman; containing accounts of his travels in England and other places in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He visited London and Windsor; mentions the prices of various things. On several pages he gives drawings; one of St. Paul's Cathedral." I at once addressed a letter to Mr. Sneyd, begging for more particulars about this drawing of St. Paul's Cathedral. He most kindly replied to me immediately, informing me that the *Diary* was dated 1562, and enclosing a very careful tracing of the sketch, together with full permission to publish it if I chose to do so,—a permission of which I am not slow to avail myself. It is true that the sketch is extremely rough, warranting Mr. Sneyd's words, "I consider that it is a mere scribble, probably done from memory, and very inexact." Yet still it seems to me to

deserve a place in this paper, because it relates to a very interesting period in the history of St. Paul's ; for in the previous year, on the 4th day of June 1561, occurred that memorable and most destructive fire which consumed the spire, the great glory of the church, and seriously injured the adjacent portions of the structure, threatening at one moment to extend beyond the fabric itself to the Bishop's Palace. A very full and authentic account of this conflagration will be found in my *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 113-127, where I have printed the contemporary record (in Latin) of the fire inserted in the *Register* of Bishop Grindal, an English account printed in the very year of the fire, and a ballad upon the great calamity.

Rude as the drawing is, it gives a rough *memoriter* sketch of the temporary capping placed upon the ruins to keep out the rain, and of the scaffoldings hastily erected to shield the injured tower from the effects of weather. Certainly the artist, if we may venture to attribute such rude work to an artist's hand, has failed altogether to carry away with him any distinct recollection of the grand building. The only portion of the drawing which seems likely to be an accurate recollection, is the capping of the tower and the scaffolding surrounding it.

No mention has been made in this paper of the remarkable view of St. Paul's given in Van den Wyngaerde's view of London taken in 1540, nor of an important engraving in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, nor of the curious coloured view of the City in William Smith's *Particular Description of England* in 1588, lately edited by Messrs. Wheatley and Ashbee. Van den Wyngaerde's view is shortly to be published, and so will be easily accessible. The object of the paper has been to present views existing only in MSS. The second and fourth of these illustrations have never, so far as I am aware, been engraved before.

EAST ANGLIAN ROOD-SCREENS.

BY H. W. HENFREY AND H. WATLING.

CAWSTON CHURCH.—The four panels of the two doors in the *centre* of the screen have paintings representing the four Doctors of the Church, viz., ST. AMEROSE with a beehive, ST. AUGUSTINE with an eagle, ST. JEROME with lion at his feet, ST. GREGORY with double cross.

On the *northern* portion of the screen are eight panels, as follow (counting from the northern end) : 1, St. Agnes with lamb ; 2, St. Philip with cross and a basket containing three loaves ; 3, St. Matthias with sword ; 4, St. James the Less with fuller's bat or club ; 5, St. Andrew with cross saltire ; 6, St. Thomas with spear ; 7, St. Matthew, a money-box with a chain to it at his feet ; 8, St. Peter with two keys.

On the *southern* portion of the screen are also eight panels, as follow : 1, St. Paul with sword and book ; 2, St. John, without beard (as the youngest of the apostles), holding a chalice with a serpent issuing from it ; 3, St. Helena with Roman cross ; 4, St. Bartholomew with a knife ; 5, St. Simon with a club (or saw ?) ; 6, St. Jude with a boat in his hand ; 7, St. James the Great with a pilgrim's staff and wallet, and wearing spectacles ; 8, a curious panel representing Sir John Schorn (or "Master John Schorn") conjuring the Devil into a boot which he holds in his left hand. The Devil, in the form of a dragon, is seen issuing out of the boot, and with his right hand Sir John points to it. He wears a doctor's cap and a crimson robe.¹

This screen is now unfortunately very much dilapidated and spoilt by damp. Along the edge of the central portion, above the panels, could be formerly read an inscription setting forth the donors' names, etc., as on the Ludham rood-screen. In Blomefield's time² the following portion of the inscription could still be seen, viz. : "*Prey for the*

¹ See *Journal* for December 1867.

² *History of Norfolk*, 1806, vol. vi, p. 266.

Sorlis of William Athereth, and Alice his Wyff, the weche dede these iiij Pangs Peynte be the Executoris lyff"..... Now the only words that remain legible are, "*Prey for the Sorlis of William dede these iiij pangys*".....

With the church plate is also preserved a very curious and ancient leather box which was thought by some visitors to have been originally used for holding the consecrated wafer. On the side was cut a coat of arms, and on the lid was the representation of a griffin encircled by the following inscription in Lombardic capitals of the style of the thirteenth century.

✠ IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM.

The silver chalice, an early specimen of the Elizabethan "decent cup", is inscribed,

FOR THE TOWNE OF CASTVN 1567.

FILBY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—The painted figures on the rood-screen were evidently executed by the same artist as those on the Southwold screen. They have the same patterns upon their dresses, etc.:—No. 1 (north end) is St. Cecily with wreath of flowers and a palm-branch; 2, St. George piercing the dragon with a cross-handled spear; 3, St. Catherine standing on a wheel and holding a sword; 4, St. Peter holding two golden keys; 5, St. Paul with sword and book; 6, St. Margaret piercing a dragon with a cross-handled spear; 7, St. Michael with pair of scales,—a *white* soul (or saint) is in the higher balance, a black devil in the other; 8, St. Barbara carrying a tower in one hand, and holding a palm in the other.

HERRINGFLEET CHURCH.—The framework and tracery of the windows appear to have been removed from St. Olave's Priory after its dissolution, and placed here in lieu of the previous narrow Norman windows. The east window is one mass of fragmentary glass patched together without regard to order. This glass, report says, was brought from Bury St. Edmund's after the dissolution of its magnificent monastery. But this is a mere fiction, for the greater part is evidently of French manufacture, and was rescued from a monastery in France at the commencement of the great Revolution. There are also among these fragments a few pieces of an older (English) window, such as the head of St. Edmund, king and martyr,

radiated with modern rays, and wearing a superb jewelled crown. I was informed by the old sexton that this originally adorned the little Norman east window at Fritton, and was purloined many years ago by a former sexton, and placed in the position it now occupies. There seems some truth in this assertion, as the little fabric at Fritton was dedicated to St. Edmund. Another fragment in this window is a beautiful head of the Redeemer with an indented nimbus, and holding the reed in the right hand, the left exhibiting the bleeding wound. Below this is the head of an angel with a fillet and cross surmounting it, and surrounded by a radiated nimbus. I presume this to be the head of St. Michael. In another compartment of the window is a circle containing a crescent moon, between the horns of which is represented an angel's head with long, flowing hair. This, I presume, is intended for St. Gabriel, as the sun is St. Michael. It is certainly a very old and rare specimen of mediæval glass. Below this is a shield, *sable*, charged with the emblems of the Passion, which has been engraved in this *Journal*.¹ In another compartment is the French saint, Gertrude of Nivelles. She is represented standing, in the habit of an abbess, and with a plain nimbus. The left hand is raised, and advanced. In the right she holds a pastoral staff, immediately below the volute of which is tied an *orarium* or scarf, and up the staff climb rats or mice. The presence of the *orarium* is worthy of notice, as it is not often seen attached to the pastoral staff.

In one of the south windows are two most interesting figures, of the Decorated period, representing St. Catherine and St. Margaret. They are standing beneath Decorated crocketed canopies, each terminating in a rich finial. Upon the head of St. Catherine is a golden crown formed of fleurs-de-lys. Her hair is loose and flowing. Over the shoulders is a tippet of ermine, from which descends a purple robe, and beneath that is a kirtle of pure white. In the right hand, which is elevated, is a small spiked wheel, and with her left hand she rests upon the hilt of a sword. By the side of this figure is the patron saint of the church, St. Margaret, holding the head of the vanquished dragon in the right hand, and a long cross in the

¹ 1875, vol. xxxi, Plate 8, p. 92.

left. On her head is a golden crown, from beneath which her long hair flows over her shoulders. She wears a richly embroidered white robe, and an under-garment richly floriated upon a white ground.

In the north wall of the chancel is a small circular-headed window containing some very ancient glass representing a saint with tonsured head, under a plain canopy. In the right hand, which is elevated considerably, he holds a closed book, and in the left what appears to be a scourge. Above his head is a large red rose, and the border of the window is richly floriated. If I mistake not, this figure is St. Boniface. The hands and feet being very much out of proportion, render the design artistically painful. Beneath the feet are the remains of some curiously formed letters, forming part of an inscription.

Some of the glass in the south windows is Flemish, and some pieces are figure-designs of the school of Albert Durer, very finely painted in *grisaille* and brown monochrome.

There are several shields of arms in the east and south windows. Two of them, bearing the arms of St. Edmund and Edward the Confessor respectively, are said to have been brought from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's. Most of the others are probably French. One bears party per fess, dancetté, *or* and *azure*, charged with two pierced mullets (one above and one below) counterchanged. Another shield has *gules*, a cross saltire raguly between four crescents *argent*; another bears *vert*, a tortoise proper; another shield, bearing barry of five pieces, *sable* and *or*, has a crown above it; another bears *argent*, a tree *vert*,—crest, a tree, above; others have *argent*, St. George's cross *gules*, and *azure*, a bend *or*.

The windows of this church altogether exhibit a most curious and heterogeneous collection of coloured glass of several different periods and very different styles, but all mixed up together in a most incongruous way; but nevertheless, every one must owe a debt of gratitude for their preservation, to the persons who placed the various pieces of glass here, as they might otherwise have been long ago totally destroyed or lost.

LUDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.—On the lower panels of the rood-screen are painted the following saints (num-

bered from the north end): 1, St. Mary Magdalene holding a box of ointment; 2, St. Stephen, protomartyr, holding stones in his robe; 3, St. Edmund, king and martyr, holding sceptre in one hand and arrow in the other; 4, King Henry VI with crown and sceptre, but no nimbus; 5, St. Augustine, an eagle at his feet; 6, St. Ambrose holding a scourge; 7, St. Jerome, C. D., with cardinal's hat and lion; 8, St. Gregory the Great with a tall cross and book; 9, St. Edward the Confessor with a sceptre in his right hand, and holding up a ring in his left; 10, St. Walstan of Banburgh, C., with sceptre and scythe; 11, St. Lawrence as a deacon, holding a gridiron; 12, St. Apollonia holding a tooth in pincers.

The following inscription, carved in raised old English characters, runs along the rail of the lower part of the screen, above the panels:—*“Pray for the soule of John S[alman] & syclyly hys wyfe that gave forte' pn'de and the alle other b'nfactours made in the yere of ouer lord god m'cccc'lxviii'ij’.”* The name of Salman (except the first letter) has been cut away, probably at the Reformation; but it can be supplied by the help of two brasses still remaining in the church, one of which is to the memory of John Salman, who died 1486; and the other to “Sicilie” his wife, who died in 1487. The screen, therefore, was put up in their memory in 1493.

From the manuscript account of METTINGHAM COLLEGE, Suffolk:

“Memorandum de convencione facta cum Roberto Hyelyng peyntour de Norwic' pro summo altari pingendo et ornando cum arte sua meliore tam in ymaginibus quam in singulis patribus ejusdem; et cum perfecte consummaverit habebit 20*£* Item Roberto Jokelyng pro tabula inferiore alti altaris corrigenda per 2 dies vid. Item, eidem pro le cowntertabyll pyngendo 40*s*.

“Item solum Thome Barsham de Iernemuta pro 2 ymaginibus cum tabernaculis earundem faciendis pro summo altari 40*s*. in parte solucionis Item solum Thome de Iernemuta pro 2 ymaginibus cum earum tabernaculis, et tabula summi altaris facienda et pingenda 100*s*.”

Hence it is evident that no foreign artists were employed to paint the beautiful effigies, etc., of the saints and apostles in our East Anglian churches. These men were natives of Great Yarmouth. But there is little doubt that the Monastery at Bury St. Edmund's sent out several

monks to illuminate the screens in this neighbourhood, as they are far inferior to those of Southwold, Branfield, and Yaxley, which must have been executed by a more masterly hand.

SOMERLEYTON CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—The following is a list of the saints represented on the panels of the painted rood-screen of the fifteenth century, commencing at the northern end : 1, St. Michael ; 2, St. Edmund ; 3, St. William of Norwich, or St. Robert of Bury ; 4, St. Lawrence ; 5, St. Simon ; 6, St. Thomas of Canterbury ; 7, St. Anna and the Virgin ; 8, St. Andrew ; 9, St. John ; 10, St. Mary Magdalene ; 11, St. Teno, B. C. ; 12, St. Sitha ; 13, St. Nicholas ; 14, St. Cecily ; 15, St. Edward the Confessor ; 16, St. George. These paintings are very beautiful, and in very good preservation.

Inside the chancel now stands a large marble altar-tomb, believed to be that of Sir Thomas Jernegan, who died about the middle of the fifteenth century. There are the marks of where a brass had originally been on the top ; and several shields are sculptured on the sides, but only two of the latter are now recognisable, and traces of any inscriptions are gone. This tomb is engraved and described in Suckling's *History of Suffolk*, vol. ii, p. 55.

ON THE THIRTEENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS. THE MISSING STATION BETWEEN CIRENCESTER AND SPEEN.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

(Read Dec. 1, 1880.)

IN the paper which was printed in our *Journal* in September 1878, on "The Measurements of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary applied to the Southern Counties of England", I spoke of a lost Roman station which I judged to have been at the Manor Farm in Wanborough Plain in Wiltshire. In discussing the distances on the thirteenth *iter* of Antoninus, I pointed out a missing link between Durocornovio (North Cerney) and Spinis (Speen). As the distance really exceeds thirty-six miles between these places, whilst there seems no doubt that the line of the route is correct, and from Durocornovio the distance given is, "To Speen xv miles", it seems reasonable to suppose that one entry has been lost in the record. Thus I should expect to insert a station, so as to read this part of the *iter* thus, viz., from Gloucester to Durocornovio, xiv, or according to the Vatican MS., xviii; to a station on Wanborough Plain, xxi; to Spinis, xv.

It is interesting to learn that at the very point thus suggested Roman remains have been abundantly found. Some few of them I have the pleasure to exhibit this evening. They have been kindly brought to my notice by their discoverer, Mr. William Chandler, of Aldbourne, near Swindon, who has long farmed the land on Wanborough Plain, where it joins the Manor Farm which I had indicated.

On the 12th of October last Mr. Chandler wrote to me that he had heard of my suggestion that a Roman station once existed at this point, fifteen miles from Speen, through our Associate, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A. This gentleman, in writing for publication on the history of Newbury, had printed the following passage, which Mr. Chandler sends to me :

"It has been pointed out in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Newbury Field Club*, and also by Mr. Gordon M. Hills,
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that the distance from Durocornovio, which was affixed to North Cerney by the late Mr. Black, or from Cirencester, if that place be assumed to be the Durocornovio of the *Antonine Itinerary*, to Spinis, fifteen miles, brings us into difficulties; the actual distance from Cirencester to Speen being thirty-six miles, or from Cerney thirty-eight miles. The only solution Mr. Hills can offer is, that the name of a place between Durocornovio and Spinis has from very early times been erroneously omitted altogether in the *Itinerary*, or by its transcriber. This, however, is not a new theory, as the late Dr. Beeke, Professor of Modern History at Oxford, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1804, 'On Roman Roads and Stations in and near Berkshire', observes: 'Spinæ (the Thorns), the first station west of Caleva, which Dr. Beeke places at Reading, has usually been supposed to be at *Speen* (*Spone* of the Domesday Book). The distance is twice stated at fifteen Roman miles, which agrees exactly with Thatcham; but is not enough, by three miles, for even the nearest parts of *Speen*. Thatcham is a decayed but ancient town, of which the name is very obviously Saxon, and where the Old Street Road came from Wantage. We may, therefore, perhaps be allowed to place here the *Spinæ* of the Iters, and to conjecture that this Roman name of a thorny tract of land might anciently have been applied to a more extensive space, and have included the town of Thatcham as well as the parish of Speen. *But I should not trust so much as I do to this conjecture, if I had not a strong suspicion that the next station beyond it is wholly omitted.*' If Spinis and Speen are correctly identified, this last place, remarks Mr. Hills, was fifteen miles from it, in the direction of Cirencester. The point on the Roman road, at this distance, between Speen and Cirencester, falls exactly at the Manor Farm on Wanborough Plain, about midway between the villages of Wanborough and Baydon. Here, Mr. Hills suggests, is the place whose name and distance from Durocornovio are altogether lost in the copies of the *Itinerary*. It is a singular coincidence that when the writer accompanied the Rev. Canon Greenwell, F.R.S., last year in his investigations of British barrows in the neighbourhood of Wanborough, a field near North Farm, between Baydon and Wanborough, was spoken of by Mr. Chandler, the occupier of the Farm, as being the supposed site of a Roman station. This spot is not far from the Manor Farm mentioned by Mr. Hills, and may be said, to some extent, to support his hypothesis. A large number of Roman coins and pottery have been found here, and foundations of buildings are said to exist in many parts of the field."

It is, of course, gratifying to know that Mr. Money finds reason to support the hypothesis which I had put forward afresh. I did not claim any novelty for it, for I had previously, in the same paper, mentioned the fact that Bertram of Copenhagen had put forward the sugges-

tion. He was, so far as I know and believe, the first author of it. His spurious Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, which contains the suggestion, was compiled by Bertram with undoubted ingenuity. Had it appeared in its true character, as his compilation, it would have merited, and still deserves, examination as an attempt to adjust what Bertram had culled out of previous geographers, to his knowledge of England. The error made was not in attempting to apply the work of these geographers to a description of England, but in cloaking his own authorship under the disguise of Richard of Cirencester. His motive for the disguise must always remain a curious matter for conjecture. It seems incredible that he could have taken all his trouble for the sole and deliberate purpose of imposing on Dr. Stukeley, or on the learned in general. Perhaps desirous, in the first place, to test the judgment with which his work would be received, his intention was to have shortly avowed himself. It is likely he was himself astonished to find his disguise treated *au sérieux* by his correspondent; and disconcerted by the complete acceptance which Stukeley gave to a statement designedly false, but unhappily supposed a harmless falsehood, Bertram had not the courage to avow that he had taken a step liable to serious misconstruction. Stukeley's shallow judgment, enthusiastic reception, and industrious propagation of the falsehood, carried away and overpowered all feeling of courage and honour on Bertram's part.

To resume, however, our immediate subject, the Roman station on Wanborough Plain, fifteen Roman miles from Speen. Mr. Chandler writes to me: "I have for some time satisfied myself that where I live was once occupied by the Romans, from the number of coins which have been found there; but I had no idea, till I saw Mr. Money's paper, that there was any theory of a station having existed between Newbury and Cirencester. You will see by a rough plan I have sketched, that my observations pretty closely bear out your views as to locality." Mr. Chandler's rough sketch shews his own dwelling, North Farm (about two miles from Aldbourne), placed upon an ancient road called Portway, three quarters of a mile southward from the point where this Portway joins the

main Roman road from Speen to Cirencester. A circle of about a mile diameter, which has at the north part of its circumference the point of junction of these two roads, includes also, in the north part, a district called Popplechurch; in the north-west part of its area, some portion of the Manor Farm; in its central parts, the lands of the North Farm, with its buildings towards the south part of the area; and in the south-west part, other lands of North Farm, which are called Chestercomb,—a very suggestive name.

“Some few years since”, writes Mr. Chandler, “in forming a croquet-ground in a meadow apparently of maiden turf, I was so much struck with the quantity of pottery and animal bones turned up,—pieces of ancient pottery cropping up also, after the plough, in nearly every field,—that I invited Mr. Cumington of Devizes to give me his opinion. On examination he pronounced it to have been the site of a British village, afterwards occupied by the Romans. A field of my neighbour’s, called ‘Popplechurch’, has produced several coins and a quantity of pottery. Opposite my house a large space of ground was covered with some very strong concrete, which was removed by my father as it interfered with cultivation. I do not think it formed the foundation of a building; but I thought it was just possible it might have been a threshing-floor, such an one as is described in the *Georgics*.”

Mr. Chandler has enhanced his communication by sending for exhibition nineteen fragments of pottery and seventeen Roman coins:

One of *Antoninus Pius*, A.D. 139-161, a silver coin in excellent preservation. *Obv.*, bust to the right, ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. PP. TRP. COS. III. *Rev.*, a standing winged Victory, a wreath in one hand, and palm-branch in the other, surrounded by IMPERATOR. XX.

One of *Alexander Severus*, A.D. 222-235. A very perfect coin, middle brass. *Obv.*, a bust of the Emperor to the right, laureated; IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. *Rev.*, a female standing (type of Prudence); PROVIDENTIA DEORVM. In the field, S. C.

Two of *Gallienus*, A.D. 260-268. Both are third brass. One of them has the bust in good preservation. *Obv.*, bust to the right, beardless, with rayed headdress; GALLIENVS. P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, a standing female figureTAS. In the field, B. S. The other, a much worn bust, and inscription on the *obv.* as the last; on the *rev.* a figure of Mars with illegible inscription.

One of *Salonina, wife of Gallienus*, a third brass, much defaced. *Obv.*, bust to the right; SALONINA, other letters illegible. *Rev.*, a female holding a spear; two children at her feet; PIETAS . AVGG.

One of *Constantine the Great*, A.D. 306-337. A third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated, beardless bust of the Emperor to the right; the legend obliterated. *Rev.*, an altar with globe or stars above; VOTIS . XX. On the front, BEATA TRANQVILITAS. Exergue illegible.

Two coins of *the city of Constantinople, and one of the city of Rome, of the same era as the last*. The first two have the usual helmeted and armed bust to the left, on the *obv.*, and the word CONSTA—TINOPOLIS. On the *rev.*, one has a winged and armed figure filling the whole field, excluding all inscription; the other has a winged, helmeted female figure with a shield and spear; at her foot the prow of a ship. In the exergue, TR . P. The third coin has on the *obv.* the usual helmeted bust to the left, and VRBS ROMA. *Rev.*, the wolf suckling twins. Exergue, TR . S.

Two of *Magnentius*, A.D. 350-353. One coin is a middle brass. *Obv.*, the Emperor's bust to the right; IMP . MAGNENTIVS . P . F . AVG. On the *rev.* a large *chi-rho*, with alpha and omega in the field; SALVS AD NX...TSA . S. Exergue, AMB. The other coin is a third brass with a small bust and inscription on the *obv.*, as the last. The *rev.*, a globe and star; the rest defaced.

One of *the Empress Helena*, died A.D. 360. A third brass. *Obv.*, bust of the Empress to the right; HELENA AVGG. *Rev.*, a standing female figure; SECVRITAS Exergue illegible.

One of *Julian*, A.D. 360-363. Base silver. *Obv.*, a laureated bust of the Emperor to the right; FL . CL . IVLIANVS . P . F . AVG. *Rev.*, Victory holding a wreath and palm-branch; VICTORIA . POTN . AVG. The exergue cut off.

One of *Maximus*, A.D. 383-388. A third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated bust to the right; DN . MAG . MAXIMVS . PF . AVG. On the *rev.* a figure of Victory and defaced inscription.

There are three small brass coins which I cannot read.

The coins, it will thus be seen, cover a period of about two hundred years. Mr. Chandler states that an immense number of the smaller ones have been turned up and

lost. These are all the Roman coins which he possesses. Lately, however, he has obtained in the field opposite his house a very good silver coin of Ethelred.

The nineteen fragments of pottery offer very little subject for remark. They are chiefly from the stronger and more massive parts of vases, dishes, or plates, bits of the circular rims of the mouths, necks, and feet, of coarse and common vessels of domestic use; all undoubtedly Roman ware.

The site of the station is close to the borders of three of the British tribes. To the south of it lay the country of the Belgæ; to the east, that of the Bibroci (Berkshire), who in all probability belonged to the Attrebates; on the west extended the country of the Dobuni, to whose district probably this particular station belonged. The coins I have described, beginning not earlier than A.D. 139, convey by this commencement the idea that the station was not founded before that time. The time is about that of the Survey of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary. That the place is not named by Ptolemy is not remarkable; that its name is wanting in the Antonine Itinerary, though its position may be inferred from that authority, is curious.¹

¹ It has occurred to me that two slight allusions to the district, but of much earlier date, have been overlooked. The invasion of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 43, was immediately occasioned by a British prince whom the Romans named Bericus, and the invaders directed their advance into the country of the Dobuni. Is not the name given to the prince derived from his country, viz., Berroc, bordering on the Dobuni, and Latinised into Bericus, or as Cæsar named the territory, of the "Bibroci"? Still a century earlier, viz., at Cæsar's second expedition, his forces were opposed in Kent by a prince named by Cæsar Segonax, and usually understood to be a prince of the Cantii. May not this prince be also named from his people, the Segontiaci, whose important city (now Silchester) was not far, in the country of the Belgæ, from the site I have been discussing? Cæsar's army had crossed to the north side of the Thames, and received there embassies of submission both from the people on that side of the river, and from the Bibroci and the Segontiaci on the south. At this juncture it would seem that the chief, Segonax, had carried off the warriors of the Segontiaci, joining with three other princes in the bold design of attacking Cæsar's base of operations at his landing-place in Kent, the result only adding another victory to the Roman arms.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT GRAVE IN STILLMAN STREET, PLYMOUTH, IN OCTOBER 1880.

BY FRANCIS BRENT, ESQ.

(*Read Feb. 16, 1881.*)

STILLMAN STREET is, perhaps, one of the oldest thoroughfares in Plymouth, and there are authentic records that it was known as such at least six centuries ago. It is, moreover, interesting as having contained the house in which Dr. Kitto was born; and in that portion of it known until lately as Catte Street, stood the Palace where the merchant Paynter received and entertained Katherine of Aragon when she landed in Plymouth previous to her marriage with Prince Arthur, brother to bluff King Harry, her second spouse.

There are not many ancient buildings now remaining in Plymouth. Our fine fifteenth century church, some Tudor houses, some chamfered stone mullions, and carved brackets and doorposts,—these, with some arched window-frames, and we have pretty well summed up all that now remains of “old Plymouth”, and shews us what it was even no further back than three centuries ago. It will, therefore, be of much interest to learn that a few months since a discovery was made of certain remains that may carry us back, if not to the time of the oldest inhabitants of Devon, at all events to that period when the Romans, having overrun the county, had introduced one of their own modes of burial after cremation of the dead.

During the alterations that have been made by Messrs. Pitts and Son on their premises in Stillman Street, preparatory to the erection of their fine new malthouse, the workmen, in excavating the soil for the foundations of the massive iron pillars that were to support the respective floors, came upon a quantity of bones; all, I believe, those of domestic animals, such as the ox, pig, and sheep; none of them presenting the appearance of having been buried for a long period of years. Further down they found a

quantity of shells, mostly those of the cockle, oyster, mussel, and periwinkle. These, however, were all much corroded and decayed, so that many of them could not be preserved, indicating that they had been buried for a great many years, and that they probably were part of an ancient refuse-heap or kitchen-midden. The shells were not in a very large quantity,—possibly not more than two or three bushels; but similar shells were scattered throughout the surrounding soil, shewing that the heap had been disturbed in former years, and the contents distributed.

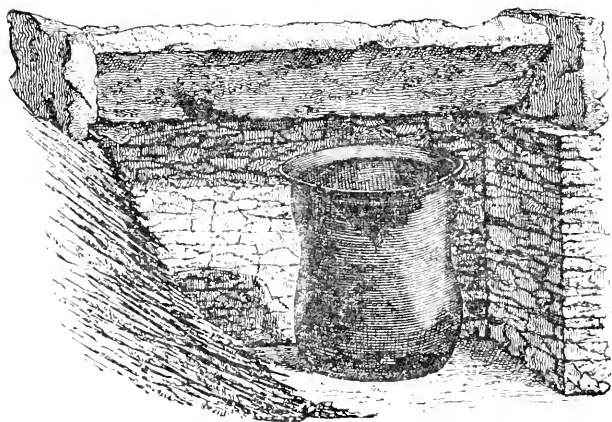
In clearing further the workmen struck upon two large stones, which they took to be the covering of some old drain. These stones were about 3 feet long by 15 inches broad, and 3 inches thick. They were composed of what is locally known as "Dunstone"; not the stone of the immediate district, which consists of a shaly slate, but of a hard green grit, which had probably been brought from a considerable distance, and presented the appearance of having been much weathered previous to their present use. These stones were placed at a right angle to one another, thus forming a roof, the gable ends of which were crossed by two pieces of stone, each about a foot long, and of a similar description to the cover-stones.

On raising the stones a large urn, composed of coarse black ware, was discovered within a small cist or grave, which was about 18 inches deep by 2 feet wide, and nearly 3 feet in length, lying almost due north and south. This had been excavated in the natural rock, which was here soft and shaly, similar to that which appears in so many of our drainage-excavations.¹ Unfortunately, however, no one was on the spot at this time to record accurately what was then discovered, and soon the grave was cleared out, the urn destroyed, and the rubbish carted away to some ballast heaps, whence much of it, I fear, has been taken on board ships loading at the quays for foreign ports: and had it not been for one of the proprietors of the premises, no account could have been recorded of this

¹ The urn was in an upright position, not reversed, as in British graves. It appeared to be perfect, was about half full of soil, and was broken during removal, but all the pieces might have been preserved.

most interesting discovery in the very heart of old Plymouth; and, as in many cases that are constantly occurring, all traces of the grave would have been destroyed. This gentleman, noticing the little grave and some pieces of the urn that had been put on one side, drew my attention to the find, when I at once proceeded to the spot, and rescued such relics as I could obtain, and which are now before you.

When I first saw the grave, it had been completely emptied, and on the west side a flat stone, to support an iron pillar, had been put in place, thus destroying all evidence of what that side had originally been; but the workmen informed me that it consisted of the native rock only. The east side and south end had been built up of small slabs of dun stone or hard slate, and were perpendicular, and fairly even; whilst the north end consisted of the native shale rock, sloping away at a considerable



angle, and much decayed and shattered. It is not improbable that the north and west sides were once as perpendicular as the rotten rock would admit of, but that in excavating the soil the workmen had removed all the loose stuff, leaving the rock at the angle at which it had most readily cleaved. The floor of the cist consisted of the native rock.

The urn, as I have said, was completely destroyed; but from the few fragments that I was able to preserve, the restored figure, as shewn in the sketch, has been made.

Although this may only approximate to correctness, it at all events will enable us to form some idea what this curious urn was like, wherein were placed the ashes of the burnt body. That it once contained ashes cannot, I think, be doubted; portions of the bottom still present a white appearance, arising probably from the contact of the ashes with the burnt clay. I may add that no human bones, or portions of bones, were preserved; so that if any were present, they were carted away and utterly lost.

The urn itself, in its restored figure, presents a somewhat unusual form, and differs also from most other vessels found in kistvaens or barrows, in its larger diameter at the mouth, which is 13 inches, in proportion to its supposed height. It is also very thin. The diameter at the base was 10 inches.

A fragment of an urn nearly allied to this was found by the Rev. Mr. Kirwan in July 1868, in a large barrow on Broad Down, near Sidbury: and the fragment as well as the restored urn are figured in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 1880. This barrow is No. 57 of Mr. Hutchinson's Report of the Barrow Committee, edited by Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S. Mr. Kirwan's urn was about half the size of the one now under consideration, from which it also appears to differ in having the outline more swelling at the bulge.

It is much to be regretted that further excavations could not have been made on the spot. These might have led to other discoveries and more accurate observations than have now been recorded; but the nature of the work would not admit of this.

I am not aware that any kistvaen, if this may be considered as such, similar to this Plymouth one, has ever been described; and if not, the discovery of this may be considered as highly interesting. The graves met with by Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., on the hill-side near Fort Stamford, on the opposite side of the Catwater, were composed of slabs of stone without the gabled roof-stones; and within them were found relics of bronze, etc., but no cinerary urns or other pottery, except what may be considered as vessels to hold food or water. The barrows opened by the Rev. Mr. Kirwan near Sidmouth, rarely contained kistvaens; but the urns were usually

encircled with flint stones from the district; and the barrows lately opened and explored in Cornwall, although in some instances they contained cists, yet these never appear to have had the cover-stones placed at right angles to one another, like those of the Plymouth grave. The Romans in Britain, however, used tile-graves, one of which, consisting of eight roof-tiles placed at right angles to one another, with two similar tiles closing the open ends, was discovered near York. This, however, contained no urn or vessel, but a layer of charcoal and bones, the remains of a funeral pile.¹

Again, the urn from Plymouth, judging by the fragments, was of somewhat finer ware than that from British interments. Nor do the fragments shew any signs of ornamentation usual on British urns. They, however, appear to have been subjected to the funeral fire, and portions of charcoal still adhere to pieces of the base.

What, then, is this grave? From the few data we possess, it would be scarcely safe to hazard an opinion; but if one could do so, it would, perhaps, be to the effect that it contained the ashes, not of some very early inhabitant of Devon, but rather of one who had lived after the time when the Romans had overrun the county, and the people were beginning to adopt the Roman institutions. The form of the grave, the absence of relics of bronze or glass, and the rude shape of the urn itself, would go to shew that the grave was British; whilst the thinness of the urn, its upright position, its finer quality, and greater hardness, together with the absence of all rude ornamentation such as is usually found on British urns, added to the fact that it appears to have been made on the potter's wheel, would indicate that the people must have been in contact with a race more civilised than themselves; whilst the cover-stones of the grave, placed as they were, may have been suggested by one who had seen the tile-graves used by the Romans.

¹ *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 308.

ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, WEST STOW HEATH.

BY HENRY PRIGG, ESQ.

(Read March 16th, 1881.)

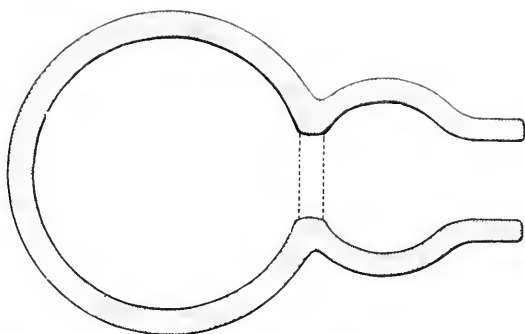
WHILST engaged in the resumption of excavations upon the site of the ancient circular enclosure on West Stow Heath, an account of which I had the honour of laying before the Association in March 1878, my attention was drawn to a slight ridge on the Heath, some 400 yards south-west of where I was at work, from a rabbit's burrow in which blackened earth and fragments of pottery had been thrown.

In the following spring I opened ground here, and my trench, after passing through a bed of carbonised matter, in which were freely mingled the necks, handles, and other parts of bottle-shaped vases of fawn-coloured Roman pottery, soon reached the walls of the kiln in which they had been fired. This structure was circular in form, 3 feet 6 inches in internal diameter, with walls 18 inches high, and 4 inches in thickness. It was composed wholly of puddled clay with a large admixture of chalk pebbles.

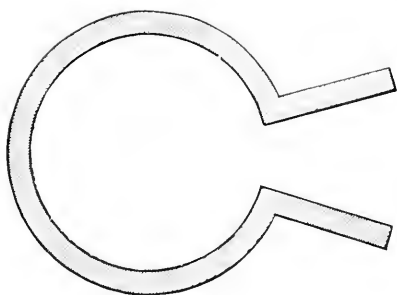
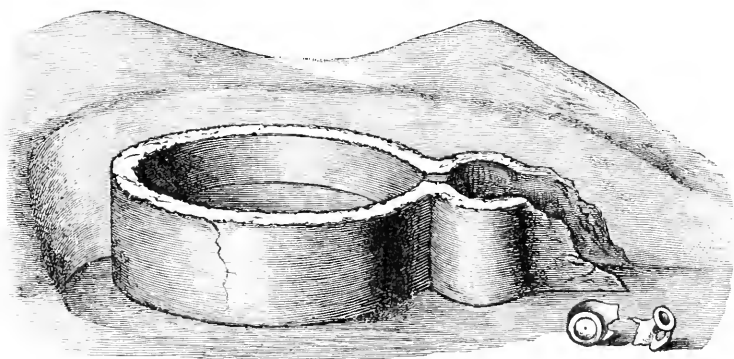
Impacted, as it were, into the eastern side of the kiln, and of the same construction, was the furnace, which was circular in contour, and 1 foot 10 inches wide at the kiln end; and straight-sided as it approached the mouth, which was 1 foot wide. The outline of the whole structure was thus bottle-shaped, and not altogether dissimilar to kiln No. 3, excavated by Mr. Joslin at Colchester, of which a plan is given in our *Journal*,¹ or to some discovered by Mr. Artis in the neighbourhood of the ancient Durobrivis.

Unfortunately this kiln had, upon disuse, been partially dismantled, and no roof remained to the furnace, nor any material portion of the baking-floor, or its central supports. Half way up the walls of the kiln, however, projecting from a slight flange, was a keystone-shaped brick or thick tile, of small size, perforated centrally; the sur-

¹ Vol. xxxiii, p. 268.



Kiln No. 1.



Kiln No. 2.

ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, WEST STOW HEATH.

faces of which were covered with a greenish vitrification, an apparent indication of the position of the baking-floor and its construction.

Directly outside the walls of the kiln was the undisturbed yellow sand of the Heath, reddened in part by the heat to which it had been exposed.

With the exception of another perforated tile or two, a couple of vessels that had run in the firing, a small number of potsherds, and *debris*, nothing was found in the kiln, which, when cleared and exposed, presented the appearance shewn in the accompanying drawing.

At a distance of 8 feet due south of kiln No. 1, a second was come upon of the same construction, but differing somewhat in the length and form of the furnace, the walls of which splayed outwards, making the mouth, which also opened to the east, 20 inches wide. This kiln was 3 feet in diameter, and in a much more ruined condition than the other. Within it were found several heavy bricks, 13 inches long by 8 inches wide, and 3 inches thick, which were perforated with two holes of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, separated by an interspace of the same length. Evidently these were the remains of the baking-floor. With them were a series of roundels of moulded brick, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and varying from 3 to 4 inches in thickness, which had formed the supports of the baking-floor. In both instances the floors of the furnace and kiln were of trodden clay, and much vitrified.

There seems, I think, no doubt that in the construction of these kilns the following method was pursued. A circular hole was dug, some four feet in diameter, and the same in depth, near the top of a slight natural bank. The slightly basin-shaped bottom of the excavation was then covered with well trodden clay, and the sides cased with the same material to the height of some 18 or 20 inches. Afterwards, when the clay had somewhat hardened, the furnace was constructed, and the brick baking-floor laid, supported upon three, or probably more, *pilæ* of the rounded bricks. Whether the furnace and its mouth were arched over with clay, or covered with some more stable material, is not in these instances apparent. The falling ground at the mouths of the furnaces had clearly been dug away to admit of a more convenient approach to them.

Respecting the pottery here manufactured, that found about the mouth of kiln No. 1, as previously stated, consisted principally of fragments of globular pitchers or bottles with a single handle (*ampullæ*), the remains of which are so frequently met with upon Roman sites. These varied in capacity from one pint to two quarts. The clay of which they are composed differs a little in colour and quality, some being fine and somewhat soft, firing to a ruddy hue, whilst in other examples it is more calcareous, and of firmer texture. Besides *ampullæ*, No. 1 kiln furnished a small proportion of the remains of little cups or bowls in light red ware, of delicate make, ornamented upon their sides with markings from a milled revolving wheel. There were also a few fragments of saucers, etc.

About kiln No. 2 the pottery was in greater variety, and from the hue of some of it it is evident that at times this was used as a smother-kiln. In addition to the fragments of light coloured bottles and *pateræ*, were portions of urns in brown ware, of a form sometimes used for sepulchral purposes; smaller jars in blackish ware, ornamented with burnished lines in diaper; and one fragment of a jar with its sides decorated with broad bands of dots put on in slip. There were also portions of urns of apparently somewhat late character, the fabric including in its composition numerous minute particles of mica.

I exhibit two lathe-turned urns¹ of precisely similar make, that were found in graves in a mixed Roman-British and Saxon cemetery in the neighbouring parish of Icklingham. These are clearly distinguishable from the ordinary forms of Roman pottery by their more bulging sides, and by the bosses or projections with which they are furnished,—a feature peculiarly Saxon. For some time I have been of opinion that this people settled very early in the district around Icklingham,—before, indeed, the Roman *régime* absolutely ceased; and this class of ware, it would appear to me, the potters of the old Roman

¹ They were originally black in colour, but after washing and exposure have become grey. I have recently, for experiment, revived the colour of the better made one by partly rubbing it over with sweet oil. The imperfect urn was damaged by the spade, and intentionally left unrepaired, to shew the mode in which the projections were formed. The impression of the point of the potter's finger is distinct.

station¹ upon their wheels manufactured in imitation of the hand-made fictilia of their Teutonic neighbours. It is not impossible they made it to order.

These vases did not contain the remains of cremated bodies, but were deposited with the dead, filled with food or drink for the use of the deceased in the land of spirits.

With the urns I also exhibit an imperfect patera of black ware of similar character, which bears the potter's mark, possibly the initial N, between two dots within a label, which is impressed in its centre, after the manner of Samian. This was found placed edgeways betwixt the right arm and body of a skeleton² lying north and south, which, with others, were met with in digging sand in the ridge separating the Heath of West Stow from the low meadows bordering the river, and only a few score yards to the south of the site of the kilns. I am disposed to regard the interments as Saxon.

Upon the completion of the examination of the two kilns described, excavations were made for many yards in their line, at the edge of the little ridge; but no other examples were met with. It is evident, however, that others exist beneath the surface of the Heath, and that rather extensive pottery works were at the period carried on hereabouts. I have succeeded in finding the place from whence the clay was obtained, a spot on the same Heath, some half mile to the east, and near the river. Here, amidst some scrubby brushwood and brakes, are a series of basin-shaped pits, some holding water, and others floored with a deposit of peat over 2 feet in thickness. The pottery works of West Stow Heath must be regarded as connected with the Roman station of Icklingham, from which they are distant only half a mile.

¹ There is a large cemetery of burnt Saxons within sight of the station at Icklingham, and from it I have obtained cremated remains enclosed in urns of undoubted Roman fabric.

² From some disturbed soil near this I obtained a portion of the lip of a mortar bearing within a label the name ABICoF reversed; but I have yet to identify this ware as a local manufacture.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 82.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1880.

THE two important buildings, Bradenstoke Priory and Malmesbury Abbey, being the chief features of the day's programme, over one hundred ladies and gentlemen left Devizes Station at 8.30, by special train, for Chippenham, where waggonettes were in waiting.

Langley Barrell Church, the first place visited, is still bepewed and unrestored. The oldest part is a north arcade carried by low circular piers with bold transitional foliage. The aisle itself is a fifteenth century reconstruction. Other distinctive features are a groined south porch with grille to window lighting an upper chamber, and a panel carved with crucifix, high up in eastern wall. In the sacarium are a piscina with beautifully crocketed canopy and fluted drain, and two sedilia, one with a canopy of crockets and finial in excellent condition, the other without a canopy. Exposed outside the south porch, loosely propped against the wall, is a tomb-slab of stone carved with effigies, presumably of a Cobham and his wife. This, it was suggested, could and ought to be protected from the weather at a cost of a few shillings.

The church at Draycott Cerne, closely adjoining on the east, and in line with the classic residence now inhabited by Earl Cowley, has been considerably restored. In the large chancel, which is lower than the nave, owing, as Mr. Ewan Christian suggested, to slight fall of site, is a brass with effigies of Sir Edward Cerne, who died in 1393, clad in chain-mail, and his second wife; and on the south wall are hung two ancient bascinets, a pair of gauntlets, and short sword. These and a tattered flag were suspended by members of the Long family; and opposite it is a fourteenth century founder's tomb, with numerous mouldings and closely set crocketing.

Mr. Brock expressed regret that the old font was now set in the Manor House garden, just under the east window of the church, and was used as a garden pot! A somewhat similar desecration had been seen, but escaped comment, on Tuesday in a garden at Tinhead, near

Edington, where is a fine thirteenth century font with trefoil arcading on the rim. This was taken from Great Cheverell Church during a recent restoration, and a modern Perpendicular font substituted.

Sutton Benger Church, next visited, has a south aisle of a better type of the late Decorated style than is common in the district. The aisle-windows are filled with flowing tracery, the five-light eastern one being of a florid, reticulated character, and adorned with the ball-flower on the mouldings, both within and without. In the central lower panel of this window was, on the inner side, a rich canopy of tabernacle-work, once filled by a statuette, while the other blank east face of this panel was carved with a fair reproduction, in miniature, of the window itself; but less depressed in tracery, and with the addition of stiff pinnacles. In the recent restoration of the church this unique feature has been replaced by a modern and inaccurate copy; a figure of Our Saviour being erected inside the new canopy, while the old outer panel is placed for the present against the east wall of the aisle, shewing the deviation occasioned in recentting. The alteration aroused some severe criticism. Over the reading-desk is thrown an altar-cloth, or hearse-cloth, embroidered with rows of kneeling female figures.

Bradenstoke Priory is set on the edge of a steep hill commanding a wide view to the west and north-west. The site of the Priory is occupied as a farm, the dwelling being formed out of the "King's Lodgings" and the Guest-House, a fourteenth century structure, in tolerably perfect condition, the post-Reformation floors and stairs with which the great hall is cut up being the weakest points. It lies nearly north and south. The undercroft (now cellarage) has been little tampered with, and is vaulted with quadripartite vaulting carried on short columns. Over this is the great hall, now divided into rooms, with additional floors added, but still preserving externally, especially on the west face, its old appearance, between the buttresses being a series of unusually long Decorated windows. From the garrets can be explored the open roof with ball-flowers on the tie-beams, figured in Rickman's *Architecture*; and in one of the old rooms is a carved and painted stone chimney-piece crowned by a cornice of foliage and central bracket, and almost contemporary in date with the chief features. At the north end of the building is a garderobe turret approached by a corner staircase. The buttresses of the west wall are connected by a series of semicircular vousssoirs with plain walling above, set 15 feet or so from the ground, and quite 18 inches from the wall. These evidently late Norman remains suggested a difficulty, till it was explained by Mr. Brock that the stones had been brought from another portion of the site in 1732.

On the hill-slope facing this front, Mr. Brock read a paper on the Priory, which will appear hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock and Mr. Reynolds then pointed out the architectural features of the building, all except the arcading now set up on the west wall-buttresses being ascribed by the former speaker to between 1320 and 1330. The whole of the conventual buildings, with the church, were placed to the south of this Guest-House. Opposite, a plain Perpendicular barn with modern roof was seen. An entrenched mound to the north of the house was regarded by some as a barrow or encampment, allied to the one on the opposite hill, that of Clack; but Mr. Kerslake and others suggested that it was merely the site of a pleasure and a fishpond in the monks' garden. It is more probably the site of a Saxon thane's house. Subsequently Mr. Goldney stated that his father Sir Gabriel Goldney and he had determined not to allow the Priory to be restored in their time, but simply to preserve it. Mr. Brock commended the prudence of this course; but referred to the interesting revelations that might be anticipated from an excavation of the pavement and site of the former church.

Rejoining the carriages at the foot of Bradenstoke Hill, at Dauntsey, a long drive was made to Malmesbury. Mr. W. Powell, M.P., had provided a very acceptable luncheon in the new Reading Rooms which he has built and furnished for the townspeople.

Afterwards the Market Cross was visited. It is a late Perpendicular structure, very similar to those at Salisbury and Chichester, and is a stone canopy borne upon eight pillars. A deeply moulded, flying buttress rises from each pier, clear of the richly groined roof, the light ribs being drawn into a cluster by a wide string-band supporting a large pinnacle and ogee finial. This pinnacle bears traces of sculptured figures, and on the west face, of a crucifix; but the faces of the work are much abraded by weather, and perhaps rough treatment, for most of the bosses have been broken from the groined vault. It was erected for the shelter of the market folk in 1490.

Passing through a large stone archway into the churchyard, the grand south façade of the Abbey Church was seen in all its beauty. Of the original cruciform structure, once, like Ely, adorned by a lofty central spire, and another at the west end, but two thirds, the eastern portion of nave and a magnificent south porch remain. The south front shews a transitional Norman shell, with a clerestory and most of the aisle-lights filled with Decorated windows, with large flying buttresses and pinnacles. A flowing pierced parapet is carried above the clerestory, the aisle, and porch. The roof is a modern one, of slates, resting on deal timbers of poor scantling, set upon the fourteenth century stone vaulting. East and west are ragged fragments of the former extensions. The south porch is the richest feature. It is transitional, of eight deep orders, of which three are filled with sculptured groups, and the others with interlaced ornament. The inner doorway is almost

equally rich, and in the tympanum and on the walls are bas-reliefs of the "Majesty" and the Apostles. The interior forms a noble church wherein massive cylindrical piers with scalloped capitals, and a large triforium, all of transitional character, lead up to a large Decorated clerestory and a groined roof of the same period. The aisles retain their Norman groining and a few Norman windows, and have Perpendicular screens at the eastern ends.

In the regretted absence of Mr. Thomas Blashill, Mr. George Patrick read some historical notes on the Abbey, and conducted the visitors over it. Turning to the building before them, he said no traces of the Saxon Abbey could be found, and it was probably of wood. Britton, in his *Antiquities*, refers to a Malmesbury deed of the time of King Edgar, in which allusion is made to the generally ruined and deserted condition of the buildings; but such a deed cannot now be found. The arches and existing remains are not of prior date to 1140-1170. Porches were not common in the transition style of that period, and the south porch before them was almost unique for its exceeding richness and magnificence of ornament. The subjects of the sculptures were taken from the Old and New Testaments. This porch was enlarged in the Perpendicular period by the addition of an outer casing to the walls. The windows of the clerestory were altered to the Decorated style about 1353-60, and no traces of Norman work exist internally above the level of the triforium, excepting the great arches of the central tower. The pinnacles and the flying buttresses were of the fourteenth century. The door on the north side, leading to the cloisters, was Norman, but had had another inserted within it in the fourteenth century; and to the latter period might be referred the north aisle windows and the lofty west window. Within the Abbey attention was called to the contrast between the twelfth and fourteenth century work, to the excellence of the tracery in the eastern screens to the aisles, to the quadripartite vaulting, and to the Perpendicular watching-chamber projecting from one of the triforium arches on the south side. Both the grand towers had fallen; that at the intersection of transepts, which probably contained the large peal of bells, and which fell in Henry VIII's reign; and a second, chiefly of fourteenth century character, which also came down in Charles II's time.

Mr. Brock said the history of these towers was a warning to ambitious people. Their ruins were evidently due to successive additions to their height, and the building of lofty spires first on the central and then on the western steeples, whereas the existing remains shewed that no attempt was made to strengthen the foundations. The central tower was one of the small class, broader on the east and west faces than on those north and south. A glance at the remaining north-east fragment would shew that instead of attempting Pointed arches on the

narrow sides, as in the similar example at St. John's, Devizes, the circular soffits were brought to equal heights by stiling the transept openings. This portion is older than the nave. On this weak erection once stood one of the highest spires in England, and in it a heavy peal of bells was hung.

A question having arisen as to the purpose of a peculiar series of large circular medallions or rosettes of flat ornament between the clerestory windows on the eastern portions, both on the north and south sides, Mr. Ewan Christian said they indicated that a Norman clerestory was at least commenced, and replaced in the fourteenth century by the present rather poor windows; proving his point by shewing that one or two of these rosettes formed springers of semicircular arches.

Mr. John Reynolds of Redlands, Bristol, explained the situation of the conventual buildings, which have entirely disappeared, the site being a piece of pasture and a private garden; shewing that a plain, unpierced wall, with deep stringcourse above the nave, was clear evidence of the south walk of the cloisters. There were two entrances into the nave, both of which are distinctly marked, although now walled up. On the return east side, next the north transept, was the chapter-house, and next to it the day-room; over head being the dormitory, which had a doorway into the church, for the use of the monks who had the night services to perform. On the north side was the refectory, and on the west a second day-room for lay brethren or students, but its exact use was controverted.

The party, in inspecting the majestic ruins before them, could not fail to be struck by the contrast between the style of architecture affected by the Regular Benedictines, and that adopted by the Austin Canons at Bradenstoke. The mitred Abbey of Malmesbury, on the site of, and indeed a growth out of, a small Saxon monastery, was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one of the finest and richest monastic institutions of the country. The Benedictines, who formed, as it were, the High Church or Ritualistic party, in contradistinction to the severer minded Cistercians, who were gradually reforming the luxurious styles of elaborate building, gorgeous tracery, and interior decoration, and the highly ornamental and imposing religious services of the order from which they had sprung, were then at the height of their power and influence, and Malmesbury Abbey was one of their greatest strongholds in England. One especial feature claims a passing note here. The library of the Abbey, commenced by William of Malmesbury,¹ who appears to have organised a regular system of exchange of books, getting copies of rare MSS. from foreign houses of

¹ See W. de G. Birch's *Life and Writings of William of Malmesbury*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. x, New Series.

his order, in return for copies of such books as he himself had either written for, or purchased on behalf of, his Abbey, was maintained with considerable spirit by his successors; but at the time of the Dissolution all these works were scattered to the winds. It is recorded that finely illuminated Service Books were sold as waste at the gates of the Monastery. Aubrey, the historian of Wiltshire, and Mollatt, who has written an interesting account of the Abbey, speak with great feeling of the disgraceful and unnecessary destruction of these literary relics. According to the former authority, "the Abbey MSS. flew about like butterflies." The charters and vellum leaves of the older books were found useful in many ways; and the glovers of the town, of whom there were an immense number, found many opportunities of turning their cheaply gotten parchments to a practical, if not very dignified, account.

The great central tower of this Abbey, at one time surmounted by a lofty spire, fell within the memory of persons who recounted the event to the antiquary Leland. With it there fell much of the eastern portion of the Abbey church, the choir, and the Lady Chapel. The western tower also fell at a subsequent period, and ruined the western front. On the occasion of the rejoicing in the town at the return of Charles II, May 29th, 1660, the noise of the artillery so shook the building that one of the remaining pillars of the central tower, and the parts above it, fell down the same night. The south porch and doorway, with its elaborate series of Norman sculptures, not unlike similar architectural work at Glastonbury (almost a twin Abbey to Malmesbury, and always in the closest spiritual union and fraternal intercourse with it), are, perhaps, as fine as any things of the kind in England.

Dr. Jennings' residence, Abbey House, built in the sixteenth century, on the site of some of the conventual buildings, was then visited. What are now the cellars are a series of vaulted chambers with Decorated window-tracery and groining corresponding with the great works of rebuilding in the Abbey Church. The windows are, as Mr. Christian shewed, deeply splayed inside, on a curve, the surface being rendered to a true face in cement. The columns are almost buried in *débris*; but excavations shew them to be 9 feet from base to capital. A central range has been destroyed. The similarity of the work to Bradenstoke is very marked. Dr. Jennings suggested that this was a second cloister; others, that it was an undercroft; but Messrs. Christian and Reynolds agreed that it was too important for the latter, while the former hypothesis could not be supported. It must have formed the great hall of the abbot's house, and at that time was, of course, above ground. In the upper part of the house is much good seventeenth century paneling and carved oak furniture, including a

large Jacobean four-post bedstead richly treated in classic style ; but having as a foot-board a pierced, undercut panel, French Flamboyant in style, and bearing upon it the arms of France impaled with those of Brittany, and the dolphin, the well known badge of the Dauphins, which was pointed out by the Rev. Mr. Elliott. The staircase to the upper part of the house is of solid block-oak with solid oak newel.

Dr. Jennings conducted the members over the eastern limb of the Abbey Church, which he has enclosed, and had excavated a few years since, when he found nothing but the concrete foundations of the choir and transepts, and the square flue, with soot still in it, running along the north side, by which the building was warmed. All the worked stone, with the exception of a coffin, which he left *in situ*, had been quarried away.

In the evening two papers were read, the first by Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., on "The West Saxons in Wiltshire." He said that having traced, at the last Congress, the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk, he now wished to speak of the Gewissens or "Westerners". The term seemed to have been used in opposition to the "Easterlings", just as on the Continent the Eastern Goths were opposed to the Visigoths or Western Goths. It was necessary to go back to the Roman times to trace the rise of the kingdom of Wessex and its vicissitudes, until it swallowed up the smaller kingdoms. Out of the five hundred years during which the Romans were in the supremacy in Britain, no less than three hundred were without any record whatever of Britain. Records of the revolutionary Roman times were the milestones found at Bittern, near Southampton, recording the names of Gordian the Younger (238-244 A.D.) and other celebrities. To shew the intercommunication at this time with Gaul, from the southern ports, he should take a coin of Postumus, usurper or emperor (261-268 A.D.), bearing on the reverse side EXERCITVS, which seems to shew the co-operation of the 2d Legion in Britain. The end of that period was that Britain chose Carausius as Emperor in 290 A.D., who defied the Roman Emperors Diocletian and Maximilian ; and in succession Allectus, who was killed at the battle of Southampton by the Pretorian Prefect, and the majesty of Rome reasserted. The materials for history were very sparse ; neither had any satisfactory explanation been given for the absence of all literature of the period.

The paper was then commented on by Mr. Karlake and Mr. Swayne, after which Mr. Morgan was heartily thanked for his learned paper.

The second paper was read by Dr. Phené, F.S.A., F.G.S., on "Existing Analogues to Stonehenge and Avebury." The author claimed that he had discovered in the Balearic Islands and on the shores of

the Mediterranean the only examples of the mortise and tenon system of Stonehenge in structures which assume "the precise condition of the more vast portion of Stonehenge". All the features of Stonehenge, he said, have analogues in the islands between the African continent and Europe. These structures, he was led to believe, were Roman; and his impression was that as the Romans consolidated their power by alliance with and granting freedom to the nobles of the countries they governed, as they considered the worship of the local deities of other lands meritorious, and no abrogation of, or deduction from, the honours claimed by their own deities of Rome, they could shew this in no more comprehensive way than by restoration or augmentation of that temple in Britain, which was in the centre of the deceased nobility of the land, and in the vicinity of what was clearly the great wardmote or gathering-place of the British at Avebury.

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Picton and others took part.

Mr. W. Cunnington pointed out that the most extraordinary thing in connexion with Stonehenge was the fact that there were three or four kinds of stone there, one of which it was absolutely clear did not exist in England.

To which Dr. Phené replied that Mr. Fergusson saw the direct course of the stones from Africa; and he gave as an example of large stones being brought from abroad, a description of a piece of Assyrian sculpture which, he said, had been dug up on the estate of Lord Mount Edgecumbe.

Dr. Phené had many interesting views to illustrate the places he had mentioned, and was thanked for his instructive paper, which was commented upon by Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.; Mr. Picton, F.S.A.; Mr. Cunnington, F.G.S.; and the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1880.

A drive of forty miles to and from Amesbury and Stonehenge was the programme for the day. In the latter part of the day, at Vespa-sian's Camp and Stonehenge, the members of the Association were met by the Newbury District Field Club, the combined party numbering about two hundred.

On the outward journey the route taken was along the Valley of the Avon, two of the village churches being examined. The first of these, Endford or Avonford Church, is a building altered to its present condition after the crushing of the nave by the fall of the spire in 1817. It has a range of blank arcading of slender lancets on the north side of the chancel; and opening out of this, a low octagonal chamber now

used as a vestry, and having in the angles four aumbries, in which hooks still remain. This adjunct, which has been a *crux* to local antiquaries, was pronounced by Mr. Brock to be the base of a proposed north-east thirteenth century tower, and utilised from early times as a sacristy.

The church of Nether Avon has a remarkable west portal of very rude and early character. Two pilasters with cushioned caps roughly sculptured, the one with a lion, the other with an ape or some other quadruped, carry a plain circular soffit and arch of great depth. The north and south sides of this stage of the tower are panelled with flint and stone, and have small Norman doorways, now walled up. The internal arch is of like character, and also has wide joints. The nave has late transitional piers and arcades.

Mr. Brock suggested that this west doorway was once internal, and formed the central tower of an aisleless church, apparently of the latter portion of the eleventh century; an opinion in which Mr. Picton coincided.

Amesbury Nunnery Church is a large cruciform structure with low, square central tower, from which a spire was demolished in 1540. The walls of the nave are Norman, with inserted windows; but the other limbs were rebuilt and enlarged in the thirteenth century. The upper part of the tower is considerably later, and Decorated windows are inserted into the chancel, between the lancets. The roof of the nave is a good example of hammer-beam construction, with ornamented tie-beams and braces. There is a late south aisle; and opening from the north transept is a chantry chapel with an excellent two-light window in the east gable, divided by a shaft with foliage-cap, c. 1340.

Mr. Brock gave an account of Amesbury Priory, founded in 880 by Queen Elfrida as a Benedictine nunnery, and which grew to be one of great magnificence. Of it scanty notices exist; but it appears to have been specially in request as a place of retreat for ladies of the royal blood, although in 1177 King Henry II expelled the inmates on account of their unsatisfactory proceedings. In later days, Mary, daughter of Edward I, in company with thirteen young ladies of noble birth, took the veil in 1283. In 1286, Eleanor, the dowager Queen of Henry III, professed; and dying in 1292 was sumptuously interred by Edward I, her son, who came from Scotland for the purpose of being present at the ceremony. At the suppression of monasteries almost all the conventual buildings were destroyed. It was clear that this was the conventual as well as the parish church, for on the north wall is a corbel-table marking the old cloister-roof and the walled-up doorways, while at the east end were traces of other buildings having existed against the north transept. He expressed regret that in the restoration effected in 1853 (under Mr. Butterfield), the rood-screen

and an east window of Henry VII's time were removed; the latter to make way for a modern conception supposed to be in character with the earliest part of the fabric, for in this work a link of the church's history was destroyed.

Some discussion took place as to the want of symmetry in plan. The chancel leans to the north, and the west wall of the nave is set askew; but no satisfactory explanation was offered, instances of leaning, both to south and north, being mentioned. And in reply to the theory that the inclination indicated the rising of the sun on the day of founding, Mr. Brock said he knew of no case in which, where the day of founding was known, the inclined axis exactly corresponded with the sun's position.

After luncheon the visitors walked through the park, beside the site of the Nunnery, and past the seat of Sir E. Antrobus (said to have been built from the designs of Inigo Jones by his son-in-law Webb), to the earthworks called by Dr. Stukeley, and on the Ordnance Survey, "Vespasian's Camp." These ramparts follow the *contour* of a hill-side overlooking the Avon, and are on plan an elliptic curve with closed end, containing an area of thirty-nine acres, and commanding the river and opposite bank. They are formed by a vallum with outer ditch; but are much obscured and broken by the planting of trees and the formation of pleasure-grounds upon them.

Lord Nelson pointed out the resemblance to Bratton Camp, allowing for the existence of a river here, and suggested a common origin.

Mr. Brock said these earthworks had been much misunderstood. This camp was certainly used by the Romans, as a few of their coins found on the site proved; but here and elsewhere they simply utilised works already existing, formed by the Britons, not as mere military stations, nor yet burial-places, but as *oppida*,—lines of defence on the hill-tops, within which they erected their wigwams of branches, or dug out pits, and folded their cattle at night. They followed every *contour* of the ground in their trenches and banks, and where a river was not at hand, probably got water as the shepherds on the Downs did now, by puddled dew-ponds at the lowest point of camps, in which the rainfall was stored. These entrenchments were sometimes used by a later race.

The members proceeded, after some discussion, to Stonehenge, gathering within the inner circle to listen to the reading of papers by members of the two Societies. Stonehenge is too well known to need more than an outline of description. It occupies the swelling surface of an elevated portion of Salisbury Plain; but by no means one of the highest eminences within a short distance. Enclosing an area of 360 feet diameter are a slight bank and outer vallum with entrance on the north-east. Within this space is what appears, at first sight, to be

a confused group of large stones of several kinds, sizes, and forms; some erect, a few leaning, and others fallen; but all fissured and weather-worn, and clothed with lichens and mosses. Segments of an outer circle of squared stones are standing upright (stones 16 feet high) at a distance of about 3 feet apart, and connected by a series of imposts, mortised by large holes on the under side into a projecting knob on each upright, and dovetailed into each other. Within this are a few unhewn obeliscal stones about 4 feet high; and within this again two perfect trilithons, one fallen one, and two uprights of other lintel-like erections, of the largest stones in the group, and forming the west part of a grand ellipse. There is an inner ellipse of obelisks, very irregular and incomplete; and in the centre is a large flat stone called the "altar-stone", but which has apparently fallen. There are three stones on the inner edge of the enclosure; and just outside, on the north-east, in the line of entrance to the rampart, is a large leaning stone called "The Friar's Heel", which was frequently alluded to during the afternoon.

Standing upon a fallen stone, which served as a rostrum to the successive speakers, Lord Nelson pleaded for the conservation of Stonehenge by setting upright a now prostrate trilithon on the western side, known to have fallen in 1797; and by pushing back and securing one of the two large single stones of the inner ellipse, which now leans threateningly upon an inner obelisk, and must, if not seen to, fall within a short time. The exact position and appearance of the fallen trilithon are known, and the restoration could be effected without risk by present mechanical appliances.

He then introduced Mr. William Cunnington, F.S.A., who delivered an opening address, every stone having been lettered in chalk by the speaker, to facilitate identification during description. The largest stones were "sarsens", boulders which in past ages were deposited as sand above the chalk, were formed by the agglutination of particles of sand into siliceous sandstones, and were exposed when the looser portions were washed away. These sarsens were found in some of the Wiltshire valleys on the Marlborough Downs. The obelisks were smaller, and of two varieties of stone,—one a hornstone, and the other "diatase" (the latter a scarcely accurate term); both igneous rocks, but neither of which could be found in England or Wales. These were all grey, of various shades; but the middle or altar-stone was black, and was a micaceous sandstone,—possibly derived from the coal-measures in the neighbourhood of Frome.

Having minutely distinguished the varieties of stone, Mr. Cunnington shewed models of Stonehenge as now, and as supposed to have appeared when perfect, shewing that there was then probably an outer earthwork as now; and inside this a ring of mortised and tenoned

stones, all joined at the top, like the few now standing ; then a circle of posts, or low obelisks, a horseshoe of trilithons, and an internal horseshoe of obelisks. In the construction of this group, whatever its purpose, a high mechanical knowledge and very great skill were displayed ; the more surprising since it was probably done without the use of iron tools. Constructive ability was shewn not alone in the transport and setting up of these huge stones, but in the system of mortise and tenon and dovetailing employed to secure the transverse slabs,—a method of securing which the speaker illustrated with small wooden blocks.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., read a paper on the etymology of the name, which had been conjecturally derived from Hengist,—hanging or leaning and suspended stones, and stones of hanging, or gibbets. He favoured the opinion of Sir John Lubbock, that it was derived from the Saxon *stane-ing*, or field of stones ; and nothing would be more appropriate, standing, as it did, in the midst of an acropolis of some three hundred barrows. As to its object, it neither resembled a cromlech, temple, nor place of worship, but partook of the characteristics of all these. One plausible view of cromlechs was Mr. Lukis's, who maintained that they were simply burial-places denuded of earth by the washing away of the soil ; but Stonehenge was scarcely one of these. It certainly resembled the Maes Howe in the Orkneys, which was a real cromlech. He believed all the kinds of stones might be found in Wales, or perhaps in Ireland. A French writer had pointed out the analogy between Stonehenge and many temples of the sun, especially those at Baalbec and at Mârtand in Cashmere ; and he was disposed to believe that this was intended for sun-worship, without committing himself to any date, although all from King David to Druids, Romans, Saxons, and even Danes, had been named.

Prof. Rupert Jones, F.R.S., read a paper written by Mr. T. Claxton Fidler, M.I.C.E., of Cork, on "The Astronomical Theories as to Stonehenge." The author detailed trigonometrical, co-ordinate surveys and mathematical calculations made by himself and two other engineers during a week spent at Stonehenge, and stated that the result, after allowing corrections for the apparent, as distinguished from the true, horizon and position of the sun, and also for the cyclical change in the obliquity of the ellipse, proved that the Friar's Heel is so situated, and the axis and centre of the building are so arranged, as to mark the rising of the sun at the summer solstice. The priest at the altar situated in the apsidal end of the horseshoe, or a worshipper in the centre of the circle, would see the sun rising out of the Friar's Heel stone. As this arrangement, if a mere coincidence, had a range of probabilities of 1,400 to 1 against the Friar's Heel being pitched within the earthworks, within a semidiameter of the correct position, the theory

that Stonehenge was a temple for sun-worship was, in the author's opinion, established by the result of his observations.

Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., of Newbury, followed with a paper, referring in his introductory remarks to his explorations of Wiltshire barrows in conjunction with Canon Greenwell. He had very little doubt that Stonehenge belonged to the bronze age,—a view in which he believed Sir John Lubbock concurred. The age could only be fixed approximately; but if they considered that the use of iron was known in Britain at the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion of the country, B.C. 55, and that its introduction might be roughly assigned to two or three centuries before Christ, a starting-point was provided. The use of bronze must have lasted over a considerable time; and allowing seven hundred years for its use as the metal of cutting instruments in Britain, the age of its introduction would be about 1000 B.C. When at Stonehenge with the Wiltshire Society a few years ago, he was struck by its comparison, by Mr. J. H. Parker, to Gilgal; and since then he had seen this theory advocated by an anonymous writer of a pamphlet on *Identity of the Religions called Druid and Hebrew* (published by Blackwood in 1829), in which some very remarkable arguments were adduced in support of the theory that this was a Druidical temple of early British times, similar in character to the temples frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. The most ancient account of a temple was in Exodus xxiv, 4: "And Moses rose up early in the morning and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes."

Having quoted from the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Zephaniah, Tacitus, and Epiphanius, to shew the earliest modes of worship by erecting stones in the open air, Mr. Money urged that there was no proof that the stone circles described in the Old Testament were not erections of the heathen possessors of Canaan. No covered temple was, however, built in the land till the days of Solomon. Stones were the simplest materials, and circles the simplest form in which to arrange them; and these circles were the memorials of great events, the meeting-places of armies, the burial-places of chieftains, and were regarded as sacred spots. The stones here were arranged exactly like the description of the Jews. Its appearance proclaimed the antiquity of Stonehenge; but its magnitude and grandeur declared that the people who first raised the ponderous blocks of stone of which it was composed were not so rude and uneducated as had been conceived. In Ireland as well as in England a vast number of these circles existed; but it was in Scotland where they were discovered in the finest preservation. In France and on the Continent generally they were to be found, and it must be supposed that they were used for the same purposes in Europe as in Asia. He believed, notwithstanding possible

ridicule, that Stonehenge and like structures were used for worship by the Druids. As to the mode of construction, he saw no difficulty in supposing that these colossal blocks of stone were brought from the neighbourhood of Marlborough, and transported and set up by enslaved manual labour.

Mr. Myers, F.S.A., urged the higher antiquity of Avebury over Stonehenge, from its greater rudeness. Stonehenge could not have been, as Mr. Morgan suggested, a group of unearthed cromlechs. None of those in Brittany, Cornwall, or Ireland, had any approximation to this. As to its being a temple of the sun, it was absurd to compare it to Baalbee, now a fragment of six Corinthian pillars connected by a well designed cornice of great depth. Baalbee was one of the most beautiful and refined examples of classic work, and far surpassed anything in Rome.

Mr. Taylor, of Clifton, added that Mårtnnd was equally unlike Stonehenge. It was a circular shrine, of which the dome had fallen in.

Professor Rupert Jones, Earl Nelson, and others, having discussed the possible derivation of the name, as to which no theory found acceptance by any other than the propounder, Mr. J. A. Picton, F.S.A., said the coincidence between the position of the Friar's Heel and the altar-stone, and the position of the sun at the summer solstice, was so marked that it might be taken as an accepted theory that the object of this erection was sun-worship. He would try to deal with Stonehenge without any preconceived theory, and discarding all traditions, would simply examine the facts. He saw before him certain phenomena and facts, and asked what inference did they lead to? Before him were parts of two circles of small, irregular, round, unhewn stones, and between and outside these, other circles, or parts of circles, of tooled stones, squared, and provided, some with mortise-holes, and others with tenons. Was it not probable that the unhewn stones were the older of the two series? Elsewhere they found cromlechs and monoliths; everywhere with no history attached to them; at most a vague tradition that they were erected before the use of tools was known. At Avebury they had traces of circles of rude, large, unhewn stones; here, at Stonehenge, were small stones of this class associated with large wrought ones. The squaring of the head of the huge, leaning stone in the inner circle before them, leaving in the middle of the face a knot or tenon, and the cutting of holes in others, could not be denied. This granted, how and when was it wrought? The date must be reduced to an extremely limited period. They must be posterior to unhewn stones; and the latter must be attributed to a period before the Roman invasion. He defied any one to produce evidence of the existence of hewn stone before or at the time of the Roman conquest. These monuments could not have been so late as the Saxon

conquest; for the chroniclers would have described their erection, whereas they were silent. Inigo Jones's hypothesis, that Stonehenge was a Roman work, had been received with laughter. He was wrong in attributing them to such a polished and cultured people as the Romans; but he might have been correct had he regarded it as a last expiring effort of the partially civilised heathen devotees of the ancient religion to assert their faith. How were the stones wrought? It had been said on the ground that flint implements were used; but it was a manifestly impossible task to cut those hard sandstones with flints. Another idea was that bronze tools were used. This was not impossible, as some of the granite tombs of Egypt were carved with only bronze. The introduction of iron was comparatively recent. The Romans before the first Punic war employed bronze. As to the name, it could not be derived from the Celtic word *hay* (mighty, powerful), as suggested by Professor Jones. He believed the root was the Teutonic *heng* (to hang), and that the Saxons, who knew nothing about them, called the trilithons "stone gallows".

Mr. Cunnington replied, stating that, elaborate as the calculations quoted by Professor Jones might be, between the altar and Friar's Heel was a block now known as the "slaughtering stone", but which his grandfather, Mr. H. Cunnington, and Sir H. C. Hoare, remembered as standing upright. If erect, it would completely hide the view of the Friar's Heel from the altar, and thus completely disposed of an ingenious theory.

Mr. Brock, in opposition to Mr. Pieton and others, reasoned that the hewn stones were not subsequent in erection to the obelisks, for the scaffolding, or inclined planes of earth, used to erect the cross-beams on the large stones would have displaced or buried the shorter ones. The work must be regarded as a whole. One of the smaller upright stones in the inner circle, that against which the upright leaned, had evidently been tooled, for it was hollowed on one side, and bowed on the other.

Mr. Edwards of Avebury said, over one of the detached stones near the outer trench, the sun could be seen at setting on the shortest day; but it appeared there was no proof that a stone ever existed on the raised place indicated, from which to take observations.

After a perambulation of the enclosure, the parties returned to Devizes by the road across the Plain,—a district rapidly being transformed from open downs into arable land.

The evening meeting was devoted to a paper by Mr. J. T. Burgess, F.S.A., "On Ancient Fortifications, especially with reference to Devizes Castle". Devizes Castle stands on a huge mound, and it presented many points in common with other castles erected about the same time by Bishop Roger of Salisbury, who reconstructed old castles

on the plans adopted by the Norman military architects. It was too much the fashion to describe the entrenchment as British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish, as the case might be; but the fact was, the commanding position would commend itself at any period to those who had to defend themselves. Such a castle was probably the stronghold of a nation, and the residence of its king. Kent had four of these strongholds. There is a theory that these mounds were merely Roman works thrown up for general survey; but many mounds were found in very low-lying positions surrounded by a wall, which shewed that they were intended for habitation. All the old mediæval castles had not a donjon or keep, like Devizes. Many other Danish and Saxon castles in England were placed by the banks of rivers, and most of them on artificial mounds. Fortified mounds were found of many types, and they shewed the exigencies of the people who inhabited them. The natural mound in some places was surrounded by a ditch and vallum, which in their turn were fortified with stockades and palisades. They were also supplied with means of retreat. On the weaker side of the mound the ramparts were erected. There were many instances in which the original fastness was enlarged, as at Old Oswestry, Dorchester, etc. When Vespasian came to subdue the great Western land, he found that it bristled with earthworks of the most formidable kind, which had to be stormed before the Roman legions could pursue their march westwards. They might now fairly surmise that on this march Vespasian came across Devizes; and from the discoveries it might be assumed that that great soldier long occupied it as a commanding post. Subsequently the adjacent forests sheltered the great Alfred; but those forests were now gone, and the chalk bluffs that witnessed his victories, and which still bear the ensign of his country, now fringe smiling cornfields, orchards, and fertile pastures.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1880.

Bowood Hall and Lacock Abbey were the central points of this day's excursions.

The church at Bromham was the first stopping-place. The plan is unusual and disproportionate, occasioned by the addition, in the fifteenth century, of a large aisle, transept, and chantry, to the south of a cruciform church. This chantry forms a chancel-aisle, and is a gem of late Perpendicular work. It was built by Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand, and has an embattled parapet enriched with paneling and an eastern canopy; a flat, paneled roof painted and gilt with heraldic devices, and happily untouched by the restorer's brush. In the centre, including an altar-tomb to Sir R. Tocotes, who died after

1492, of Parbeck marble, with recumbent effigy of alabaster (unhappily scored all over with names and initials of Vandals, some dated so far back as 1631 and 1648), there are several canopied tombs and monuments to the families of the Beauchamps and Bayntons, having an unusual wealth of enamelled brasses; and on the wall are three undertaker's helmets of the sixteenth century. The church itself, which has a fine central tower and spire, and an Early English chancel, was restored a few years since by Messrs. Carpenter and Slater. The Rector, the Rev. E. B. Edgell, described the wretched state in which he found the church on coming to Bromham; the previous incumbent, who held the living for sixty-five years, having kept numbers of pigeons in a wooden loft, which then extended over the upper part of the chancel.

In this parish, at Sloperton Cottage, lived, for the last twenty years of his life, the poet Moore, to whose memory the west window was filled last year with stained glass by Constable of Cambridge. In the churchyard, on the north side of the chancel, is a large, flat stone surrounded by a railing, inscribed to "Thomas Moore, tenderly beloved by all who knew the goodness of his heart; the poet and patriot of his country, Ireland. Born May 28th, 1779. Sank to rest, Feb. 25th, 1852, aged 72." Moore's widow and two children are buried in the same grave.

In a field near Bromham, some remains of a Roman villa were visited, and described by Messrs. G. R. Wright and W. Cunningham. The portions uncovered consist of parts of two tessellated pavements adjoining, slightly differing in level; the more elaborate one having a guilloche pattern executed in black, brown, grey, and red tesserae of chalk and clay; and near by are traces of a hypocaust. The pavement has been uncovered four times, at long intervals, during the last century, and has been greatly injured since it was figured by Sir R. C. Hoare: indeed, when a small portion was cleared of earth a month ago, the next day the hole was found to be bare, the village children having picked out the tesserae. The scanty remains should be treated as a mosaic, covered with cement, and removed to the Devises Museum; and it is to be hoped that the Wiltshire Archaeological Society will undertake this work before it is too late.

At Wans House, the supposed site of the Roman station of Verlucio, nothing was seen but the well defined Roman road from Bath to Marlborough.

Bowood House, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne, afforded an agreeable variety in the programme. The chief portion was built from a design by the Brothers Adam. The principal front, which faces south, has a large portico carried by ten Doric columns, and in the pediment are sculptured the family arms. To the left has been added

a long wing, the elevation imitated, after the fashion of the last century, from a portion of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro. The entrance-hall is paved with tessellated marble, and contains statuary and two large frescoes representing scenes in the Trojan war. A grand staircase leads to the principal suite of apartments, wherein a couple of hours were well spent in examining the paintings, sculpture, and china. The pictures include choice examples of works of the masters of the Italian, Flemish, Spanish, and English schools.

After luncheon at the Lansdowne Arms, Derry Hill, the party proceeded to Laeock Abbey, staying on the road to see the Tudor gate-house at Spye Park, removed from old Bromham House; and a sixteenth century vaulted conduit-house on Bowden Hill, of which Mr. Talbot writes as follows:

"There is no part of this little building which does not, to my mind, proclaim it the work of Sir William Sherington. The plinth or base-moulding of the walls, the doorway, and the tabling of the roof, are all to be matched in his work at the Abbey. The arched ribs which support the roof have a plain circular section, and such a section might be found in fourteenth century work; but they have not the look of work of that date. These transverse arches, five in number, are all constructed with large keystones. If they had been of the fourteenth century, they would probably have been constructed with centre-joints. The vaulted ceiling of the lowest room in the tower at the Abbey, which is entirely the work of Sherington, has ribs of a plain circular section. The projecting mouldings on the stones of the roof, which overlap the joints, may be observed in the tabling of Sherington's buttresses and chimneys at the Abbey. The eaves-moulding, or drip, on the lowest course of the stones of the roof, has a section which may fairly be taken to be a fourteenth century form; but I do not think it necessary to suppose that even these are stones saved from a fourteenth century building, and used again, though the presumption may be that an older building was replaced by the existing one, and had such an eaves-moulding; and further, that the building so replaced may probably have been of the fourteenth century. I can adduce an instance at the Abbey, in which a moulding of the fourteenth century, from the earlier part of the cloister, was actually copied in the windows of the middle room of the tower built by Sherington, producing a marked variation from the usual type of his work. Over the doorway, and also on the east wall, there are the remains of some elaborate Renaissance ornament very much worn by the weather.

"When I was examining the building one day, some years ago, in a favourable light, I detected the arms of Sherington over the doorway; but I should not have recognised them if I had not been very familiar with them. Shortly after that I obtained a copy of Dingley's *History*

from *Marble*, in which he has given the arms of Sir William Sherington impaled with those of his third wife, Grace Faringdon (three unicorns passant), as being then in glass at the Abbey; and he says the very same are cut in stone over the door of the Conduit on Bowden Hill. This was in 1684. The glass is now gone; but I have specimens of the same arms on tiles.

"It may be further remarked that Sherington's buildings are of particularly solid and beautiful construction, and in some respects very similar to mediæval work. I consider, then, that Sherington *rebuilt* the conduit-house of the nuns, for we know that they drew their water-supply from Bowden Hill from a very early date; and if so, it follows that the building cannot be earlier than 1540, nor later than 1566. Conceiving that Sherington would hardly be able to erect it in the reign of Henry VIII, I suggested that it was probably built in the reign of Edward VI, but it may *possibly* be later. There is some interest in the fact that Wood, the Bath architect, has left it on record that he took the idea of the stone-roofed lodges which he built for Ralph Allen at Prior Park, and which still remain, from this building."

The next building visited was Bewley Court, a good example of a small dwelling-house of the fifteenth century, with mullioned and cusped windows, four-centred porchway, the remains of an open roof, and much panelling. It was greatly altered about eighty years ago. Here and at Lacock Abbey, the most interesting visit of the day, the visitors were received by Mr. C. H. Talbot, the owner and occupier of the latter building, who in brief but appreciative terms described the buildings, pointing out the principal features.

The Abbey was founded by the widowed Ela, Countess of Salisbury in her own right, for canonesses of St. Augustine. The foundation-stone was laid in 1232, and eight years afterwards the Countess was elected as *first* Abbess, previous to which time the house seems to have been under the rule of a prioress. The Abbey, which obtained many grants of markets, and forest and free-warren privileges, was surrendered in 1539. After the Dissolution, the Abbey and manor of Lacock were sold to William Sherington, Esq. (afterwards Sir William Sherington), who pulled down the church; but retaining almost all the other buildings, converted them, with the beautiful Renaissance details of that day, into a most picturesque manor-house. Sir William Sherington, though three times married, died without issue, and the property was inherited by his brother Henry. By the marriage of Olive, one of the daughters and coheiresses of this Sir Henry Sherington, with John Talbot of Salwarpe in Worcestershire, it passed to the latter family; and in 1645 the building was fortified for Charles I, but capitulated after a brief siege.

Opposite the south front of the house Mr. Talbot explained the alter-

ations carried out by Sherington, pointing out on the wall, which was the north wall of the former Abbey church (on the site of which they were standing), the traces of one of the principal doors, indications of the vaulting, lancet-windows, and other remains of the church. This front was greatly altered in 1828, which is the date of the doorway and oriel windows. The chimneys are copies of Sherington's chimneys with possibly some of the old stones re-used. The balustrades on the top of the wall were added by Sherington, and are set on Early English corbel-tables, of which that on the north side is *in situ*, and that on the south side must have been taken from the south wall of the church. The octagonal tower at the south-east angle is entirely the work of Sherington. In the upper room is a very finely carved stone table, somewhat mutilated, with figures of Bacchus and Ceres, with their names and attributes; a female figure holding a torch, without any name; and Apicius with the attributes of cookery. In the middle room, which was probably built as a treasury, and is now used as a record-room, is a table of somewhat similar character, but different design, in nearly perfect preservation. This record-room is vaulted with stone, exhibiting a Renaissance version of fan-vaulting. The pendants are carved, but not the surface of the vaulting, which being left smooth was probably intended to be painted.

Passing through the doorway in the south front, the visitors found themselves in an open garth. On three sides are the cloister-walks, with good Perpendicular tracery and groined vaults. The west walk of the vaulted cloister was never built. Mr. Talbot shewed that the two south-west bays were first re-erected by the nuns, and then, after a considerable pause (indicated by the change of design) the work was continued. These Transitional Decorated bays exhibit a number of fine masons' marks, which are also found to a certain extent in the later work. In the north wall of the north walk, close to the site of the staircase to the refectory, were pointed out the remains of the original lavatory of the thirteenth century, which was built up on the erection of the present cloister, after which the lavatory must have been a projecting one. The wall to the west, which cuts off one bay of this walk, was erected in the last century. Since the erection of the south walk there have always been some buildings over it, which have been considerably altered. In the floor of the second bay from the west of the south walk, is a monumental slab of the fifteenth century, which has held a brass in memory of the Countess and Abbess Ela. The inscription round the margin, now almost obliterated, has been deciphered, and published in the *History of Lacock Abbey* by Bowles and Nichols, and is as follows:

"Infra sunt defossa Elæ venerabilis ossa,
Quæ dedit has sedes sacras monialibus ædes.

Abbatissa quidem quæ sanete vixit ibidem
Et Comitissa Sarum virtutum plena bonarum."

Mr. Talbot having seen in the British Museum a coloured sketch, by Grimm, of the date 1790 (one of several of great interest for the archaeology of this neighbourhood), representing a cross and beads, found in the tomb of the foundress, and then hanging on a pillar in the cloisters as a curiosity, but now lost, was of opinion that shortly before that date John Ivory Talbot probably found this slab on the site of the choir of the church, where it would have been left, but despoiled of its brasses when the church was demolished. He must have ascertained from the inscription that it was the tomb of the foundress, have opened it, and removed the cross and beads, and placed the slab and them in the cloisters for preservation as curiosities. It also suggested itself that the original monument would very probably have been an altar-tomb, and that in the fifteenth century some alteration in the church caused the substitution of this slab,—perhaps as offering less obstruction. Another *possible* supposition is that the actual remains of the foundress may have been removed from the choir, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, to this spot; in which case the reason for a flat slab and brass, and for the rebuilding of the first two bays of the cloister, would be apparent. This supposition would be disproved if the slab were raised, and no interment found to have been there.

On the east side of the cloister-court was the nuns' dormitory, and on the north side the refectory; both on the upper floor, and retaining their roofs of the fifteenth century. In the refectory-wall were the remains of two rose-windows of the time of the nuns, and some well preserved specimens of Sherington's mullioned and transomed windows. These afforded a remarkable example of the combination of English and Italian design,—the old and the new fashion at the time they were built. They have consoles attached to the mullions and the jambs, under the square heads, giving much the effect of cusping; and at the intersection of the main mullions and transoms are circles; at the meeting of the main mullions with the head, and the transoms with the jambs, semicircles; and at the meeting of the jambs and the head, quarter-circles,—here introduced as ornament, but of which the origin may be seen on the pilasters of Italian palaces. There is evidence that in some of these windows of Sherington's this general design was carried out with much greater richness of ornament. The chimneys generally are his work, and of great variety and beauty. None are older. Under the dormitory were the sacristy, chapter-house, slype, and day-room, with a building beyond, which formed the last of the monastic buildings in that direction; all of the thirteenth century.

Passing out of the cloisters to the east face of the Abbey, Mr. Talbot showed his visitors the day-room, which had been commonly but erro-

neously called the nuns' kitchen,—a large, vaulted building with central range of three pillars, and a large fireplace on the west side.

Mr. Ewan Christian remarked that the east front began to fail in the fifteenth century, when the builders erected vaulting-shafts in place of the corbels on the east wall, and threw out a very heavy flying buttress, of which the footing showed that it had been at first intended to give it still greater projection.

The refectory and dormitory, which meet at this point, were to a great extent rebuilt at the same time. In this room is a large trough, hewn out of a single stone, 11 feet 3 inches long, 4 feet 11 inches wide, and 2 feet deep; evidently intended for holding water, but for what particular use is not known. The entrance into this day-room was not directly from the cloisters, as is usually the case, but from a vaulted passage of the same date, under the east end of the refectory, which passage had an entrance from the cloisters.

Passing the slype, the chapter-house was seen. It is a beautiful room with groined vaulting, supported on one clustered pier with deep neckings, and to the west an octagonal pillar inserted in the fourteenth century. Mr. Talbot explained that the base-mouldings of the clustered pier were found to be mutilated. It was, therefore, undesirable to lower the ground to the original floor-level without undertaking restoration. The area of the chapter-house is divided into two aisles, in the direction of its length, from east to west; but at the west end, by a remarkable rearrangement of the vaulting-ribs, three bays are made in the west wall, the central one slightly higher than the side ones. The probable explanation of this is that there must have been a door flanked by two windows, the usual arrangement. All this has been obliterated, the entrance from the cloisters closed, and a sham doorway put up in the last century. There is a bold stringcourse at the level of the springing of the vaulting on the south wall, and also on the north wall, with the exception of the central bay, where its omission favours the supposition that the abbess's seat was there. In this room is preserved an antiquity of considerable interest, but which is not historically connected with this Abbey, the monumental slab of Ilbert de Chaz, of date *circa* A.D. 1187, which was found in 1744, on the site of Monkton Farley Priory Church. It probably owes its preservation to John Ivory Talbot's taste for collecting curiosities. The curiously contracted inscription is repeated at full length along the margin of the slab, and is as follows:

“Hic jacet Ilbertus de Chaz bonitate refertus
Qui cum Brotona dedit hic perplurima dona.”

It thus commemorates the gift of the land, still called Monkton, in the parish of Broughton Gifford, to the monks of Monkton Farley. The

sacristy, to the south, is a somewhat similar room, but plainer, the stringcourse not occurring, and the vaulting-ribs being plain instead of moulded. The two eastern bays were originally entirely separated by a wall, so as to form probably two chapels. This wall was removed in the fifteenth century, so as to leave the vaulting supported on a clustered pier, somewhat as in the chapter-house. A recess was at the same time substituted for a double aumbry in the north wall of the north-east bay, which bay alone was then decorated with some good fresco painting. In the south wall there are, in the south-east bay, a good piscina and trefoil-headed doorway which communicated with the church, and in the south-west bay a double aumbry. In the west part of this room, as in the case of the chapter-house, an octagonal pillar was introduced in the fourteenth century. Mr. Parker has suggested, as an explanation, that the original pillars may have been of Purbeck marble, and have failed. The original door of communication with the cloisters remains, but walled up; and in the thick wall to the south of it there is known to be a space, or room, which had a door of communication with the church, and was opened in 1828, but is not now accessible. It may be the site of a staircase leading from the dormitory to the church. The stronger pillars and arches in the eastern parts of the sacristy and chapter-house are accounted for by their supporting the main wall of the dormitory, beyond which the former buildings project eastward. The windows on the east sides of the sacristy, chapter-house, and day-room, were removed in the last century. There are some finely carved corbels, particularly in the sacristy and day-room. The vaulted substructures of the buildings on the north and west sides of the cloister-court are also of the thirteenth century. The present kitchen is on the site of the Abbey kitchen, in the usual position, at the west end of the refectory, and retains a four-centred fireplace; but its front wall was set back in the last century.

An old fish-pond, to the north-east of the house, was next visited; at the end of which, mounted on a pedestal, where it is believed to have been placed in 1747 (having previously been in some part of the house), is a large bell-metal cauldron. It is finely modelled, with three feet and small handles, and bears round it the following inscription: A PETRO VYAGHEVENS IN MECHLINIA EFFVSVS FACTVS VE FVERAM ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QVINGENTESIMO DEO LAVS ET GLORIA CRISTO.

Having seen Sherington's courtyard of stables and offices, to the north of the main building, with timber-built dormers breaking the stone-tiled roofs, the visitors passed into a lofty hall reconstructed on the site of an older one by John Ivory Talbot about 1750, where refreshments were provided; and afterwards made a tour of the building, seeing in the library an interesting collection of Talbotypes, the early photographic process discovered by the father of their host, Mr. Fox

Talbot; also some specimens of a photo-engraving process subsequently discovered by the same gentleman.

Mr. Talbot adds : "Pieturesque as this ancient building is still, those who have not gone into the evidence can have no conception how much it has suffered from alterations. Down to about 1740, when it was greatly altered, it must have remained very much as it was left by Sir William Sherington, with all the interest of the monastic remains and a Renaissance manor-house of the most beautiful class combined. The Renaissance features have not been so much respected as they should have been ; but enough remains to shew their excellent character. Sherington's buildings are of beautiful construction, and his roofs afford the earliest example I know of construction on the modern system ; more scientific than that of the middle ages, being furnished with king-posts, which are true ties, suspending the central points of the tie-beams from the heads of the principal rafters. There are two straining pieces mortised into the king-posts in the form of a cross, in the place of the earlier collar-beams.

"I found an incidental notice in Pennant's 'Account of London', taken from Strype, that Sir William Sherington had at one time a magnificent house in London, in Mark Lane.

"It should be noticed that in the dining-room, a Palladian room of the same date as the entrance-hall, is an original portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein, which has, no doubt, been in the house since the time of that monarch. I have also a portrait by Sir Antonio More (not in a perfect state of preservation), believed to represent Sir Wm. Sherington on the following evidence. John Britton says, in some manuscript notes in the possession of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society at Devizes, that he was shewn at Lacock Abbey the portraits of Sir William Sherington and his wife, by Sir Antonio More. This is the only portrait in the house on which the name of that painter is found, and it resembles Bartolozzi's engraving from Holbein's sketch of Sherington. There are other portraits of interest, but unfortunately many of them are without names."

Between the Abbey and the village is a large building originally built as a stable by Sir William Sherington, and altered, no doubt by John Ivory Talbot, into a barn, with the addition of buttresses and imitation Gothic windows to make it look like a chapel.

The village of Lacock is full of interest to any artist. There are houses of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, with porches, grey tiled roofs, here and there arched doorways and windows. In the George Inn the turnspit-wheel still remains. The old Market-Cross, a late Perpendicular structure, taken down within the memory of some of the inhabitants, has been carefully re-erected by Mr. Talbot with the stones preserved at the Abbey, in

accordance with a section and elevation drawn by John Carter in 1803. It stands on ground which is held in trust for the National School, marking its boundary, not far from its original site, which was on the north side of the principal street, a little further east. Near this spot stood the stocks till they were accidentally knocked down not many years ago, and not replaced.

The members visited, under Mr. Talbot's guidance, a large fourteenth century barn, formerly the Abbey barn, unusually irregular in plan, and with the timbers of the principal couples, in general, differently arranged. The principal rafters are immense trees, coming down very near the ground, where they are supported on cross-timbers called "templates", and reaching to the collar-beams, which seem to have been placed higher or lower according as the principals happened to be longer or shorter. Above the collar-beams two smaller timbers reach to the ridge, with their lower faces cut to an arched form. The plan of the barn is adapted to the shape of the ground on which it stands, and proves that the line of the streets has not been altered since the fourteenth century. The main building runs north and south; and the wall at the south end is oblique to the sides to such an extent, that the roof is longer by one bay on the east than on the west side. To the west there is a porch of such unusual projection as to be developed into a regular wing. This had once a bold segmental arch, which has been unfortunately cut away; but a very similar one may be seen at Kelston, near Bath, in a barn which is otherwise modernised. The side doorway, with a sharply pointed arch, remains, but walled up.

The parish church, dedicated to St. Cyriac, was then visited. It has transepts and a west tower originally of the fourteenth century, a lofty and elegant nave and aisles of the fifteenth, a chancel rebuilt in 1777, a Lady chapel on its north side, a little later than the nave, and a west porch. A great injury was done to this church by mistaken zeal for restoration in 1861. The transept-arches are very lofty, reaching the full height of the nave-arcades and clerestory, and until 1861 they were crossed by a beam just above the springing, and the upper part filled up. The explanation of this was, that the rebuilders of the nave intended ultimately to have rebuilt also the transepts, to which they would have given higher side-walls with, very probably, two ranges of windows, and a low-pitched roof. They, therefore, built their transept-arches, and filled them up temporarily in the upper part, as the dimensions of the old transepts would not admit of their being left open. The north transept remained till 1861, a simple and perfectly proportioned work of the fourteenth century. The "restorers" set themselves a difficult problem to solve, but not an insoluble one, viz., to open the arches while retaining the transepts; and they solved it in the clumsiest manner, by sheer addition of dead wall, raising the transepts in a way that has ruined the proportions of the church, besides

injuriously affecting the building from a merely utilitarian point of view. To remedy this state of things it would be necessary, to a considerable extent, to undo the work done in 1861. The south transept has been much modernised. The tower, originally of the fourteenth century, has been raised, and the spire added, probably in the sixteenth. There is a slight difference in the nave-arcades, which makes it probable that they were not erected quite simultaneously. The wall of the north aisle affords evidence of an original intention of groining it, which had been abandoned when the north nave-arcade, which must be slightly later, was erected. The clerestory is bonded to the walls of the tower by masonry thrown across the angle internally: no doubt to avoid drawing the quoins of the tower; and if the church had a clerestory before the fifteenth century, it must have been a much lower one. On the walls of the south clerestory, externally, is the shield of Baynton of Bromham. The nave has an original waggon-roof, the panels of which have been ceiled with stained deal boarding in modern times. Over the chancel-arch, which is of the same height as the transept-arches, a window has been inserted, probably in the reign of Henry VII, for the introduction of which the terminal tie-beam of the roof has been cut away. Externally, the parapet over this window follows the curve of the arch, and not the lines of the roof,—a very unusual treatment; and in the centre is the base of a niche which is now destroyed, but must have risen above it like the one which remains perfect, with its statue, on St. Mary's Church at Devizes. The whole of this work is very rich, and is contemporary with the Lady Chapel, sometimes called the Talbot Chapel. The latter has a vaulted ceiling which is essentially a fan-vault, but not treated in the usual manner. The chapel is in parts of great elegance. In the east window a good deal of the original glass remains, with the letter *W* crowned, which has not been explained with any certainty. The arch of communication with the transept was till lately walled up, which was probably done by Sir William Sherington to convert the chapel into a place of sepulture for his family, as a doorway in the wall had all the characteristics of his work. This doorway, on the occasion of an enlargement of the National School, was re-erected as a door of communication between the older and newer parts of that building. The monument of Sir William Sherington, dated 1566, is in the north wall of the east bay, occupying the former site of a window, and is a fine specimen of its kind. In the adjoining bay another most elegant window, which fortunately is still visible externally, has been similarly blocked by a monument erected to the memory of Sir John Talbot, the last survivor of the male line of the Talbots of Lacock, who died in 1713, by his grandson and heir, John Ivory Talbot. The south transept, which was the place of sepulture of the Baynard family, lords of the manor of Lackham in this parish, retains a fine brass with the

effigies of Robert Baynard, 1501, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Ludlow of Hill Deverill, with their eighteen children; and the inscription as follows, omitting the contractions: "*Hic jacet Robertus Baynard, Armiger, vir egregius et legis peritus in armis bellicis multum strennus dapifer precipuus inter primos pacis conservator diligentissimus uxorem habens Elizabeth devotissimam cum totidem filiis et filiabus subenumeratis qui obiit xxvi die Augusti anno domini m^occcc^o primo. Quorum animabus propicietur deus amen.*"

The old manor-house of Laekham was destroyed quite in modern times. A very good idea of it may be got by comparing Dingley's general view, 1684, and Grimm's nearer view, 1790. The latter shows very ornate fifteenth century work, with the armorial bearings of the Baynard family. The west porch of the church bears their arms in the vaulting, and it was therefore probably erected by a lord of Laekham. The shield of Baynard also occurs twice in the Abbey cloisters, once in the earlier, and once in the later part. A seventeenth century addition, to the west of the south transept, forms part of the church.

In 1875 it became necessary to take down and rebuild part of the work of the fifteenth century on the south side of the nave, which was dangerous. This was successfully done. Great numbers of stones which had belonged to a pre-existing Norman church were found in the walls, having been re-used as building material by the builders of the fifteenth century. Some of these are now preserved at the Abbey. There were also found two fragments of a cross, probably early Norman, or possibly Saxon. From two remarkable sockets cleanly cut in it, it was probably a gable-cross in which relics were deposited for the protection of the building.

A closing meeting was held at the Town Hall, under the presidency of Earl Nelson, when the members were entertained by the Mayor of Devizes, Mr. T. Chandler. The ancient corporate charters were examined by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., and the borough regalia by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A. A paper was read by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., on "The Hardships of the Law of Treasure Trove." The President then delivered a farewell address.

After a few toasts, votes of thanks were passed to the President, Mayor, and Corporation; to the Wilts Archæological Society; the readers of papers, and those who had shown hospitality; and the Local Secretaries.

Monday, August 23rd, was devoted to Longleat, the seat of the Marquis of Bath, and one party proceeded to Warminster, and another to Bradford-on-Avon.

On Tuesday, August 24th, a large party proceeded to Marlborough, where, after seeing the two churches and the Castle, they were entertained by S. B. Merriman, Esq., and afterwards drove through Saverlake Forest to the large cruciform church of Great Bedwyn.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society", vol. xxv. New Series, vol. v. 1880.
 „ „ for "Journal of the Society of Arts". March 1, March 14.
 „ „ for "Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society", vol. iii. 1881.

Mr. Robert Blair exhibited a sketch of the interlaced carvings of the early Norman tympanum of the doorway of the north side of the chancel in Houghton-le-Spring Church, co. Durham ; and another of the Saxon tombstone with a square cross, in Monk-Wearmouth Church, and now preserved in the vestry there. The inscription is read :—
 HIC IN SEPULCRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE HEREBERCHT, PR'B.

Mr. Bradley exhibited a brass tobacco-stopper of the seventeenth century, found at Market Overton, co. Rutland ; and a brass Roman coin found in the masonry of the city wall, Hereford. It was too much worn to be identified.

Mr. E. P. L. Broek, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited six fictile vessels recently found in London excavations. Among them a green, glazed cup, a German jug, and an English jug ; and a thin metal vase with lapped joint in the widest part of its circumference, found last year, at a depth of 15 feet, in Billingsgate.

Mr. R. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., exhibited a cast brass bell in shape of a lady of the Elizabethan period, probably not antique.

Mr. Chasemore exhibited two flint flakes and a corroded iron knife, from dredgings at Putney, and a token bearing the device of a stag's head couped, with legend, "*at ye browne made in chepe.*"

Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited paleolithic implements, flakes, and a large hammer-stone of granite, from the drift-gravel and sand belonging to the Thames valley at London. The objects were found from

two to four miles north of the Thames, and at elevations ranging from 60 feet to 164 feet above the Ordnance datum. Mr. Smith also exhibited fossil bones, broken antlers, drift-wood, the shells of fourteen different species of fresh water molluses, from the same positions, and fifty specimens of *coscinopora*.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., sent the following interesting notes addressed to him, on

SIGNACULA OF ST. CHRISTOPHER.

BY M. LE CONTE DE MARSY OF COMPIÈGNE.

Le petit monument figuré sous le No. 3, pl. xviii, des *Collectanea Antiqua*, t. vii, représente Saint Christophe. Ce Saint est représenté portant sur l'épaule gauche l'enfant Jésus, dont il maintient les jambes de la main gauche, tandis que de la droite il tient un arbre sur lequel est encore perché un oiseau. (1.) Ce type se rapproche du reste beaucoup de deux monuments en plomb figurés par M. Forgeais, dans sa collection de Plombs Historiés trouvés dans la Seine, 4^e série, Imagerie populaire, p. 157 et 159.

Le fait auquel ce motif fait allusion est reproduit dans toutes les légendes ou vies de Saint Christophe et rappelle le souvenir de ce Saint Géant, qui, sur les conseils d'un ermite, s'était établi sur le bord d'un torrent où il s'était fait passeur. Beaucoup de personnes avaient péri en cet endroit, et le Saint, pour l'amour de Dieu, chargeait sur ses épaules les pauvres gens, qui avaient à affronter ces eaux dangereuses. Une nuit, une voix appela Christophe, et il trouva un enfant qu'il chargea sans peine sur les épaules, mais, au milieu du torrent, ses jambes fléchirent sous le poids du fardeau qui ne lui avait d'abord semblé que peu de chose et il ne put s'empêcher de dire : *Qui es-tu donc toi qui donnes tant de peine à un homme de ma taille ?* L'enfant répondit : *C'est que tu portes celui qui porte le monde.* En même temps, ajoute la légende, le visage de l'enfant s'illumina d'un éclat extraordinaire et il disparut.

La dévotion à S. Christophe était très répandue dans tout le Nord de la France, et une figure colossale (plus de quatre mètres) de ce Saint décorait encore extérieurement un des portails¹ de la Cathédrale d'Amiens. D'après une tradition longtemps accréditée là un regard de S. Christophe portait bonheur pour la journée et l'on ne mourait pas après avoir regardé son image.

“ Christophori Sancti specimen quicumque tuctur
Ipsa nempe die non morte mala morietur.”

De là, l'usage répandu de le représenter sur la façade d'un assez grand

¹ S. Christophe est généralement représenté appuyé sur un jeune arbre qu'il a arraché et dont on voit le feuillage et les racines.

nombre de monuments.¹ Quant au personnage qui figure agenouillé dans le cœur du médaillon, on peut y voir, soit l'ermite, priant pour le succès des exploits de son néophyte, soit un passager, attendant le retour du Saint, pour traverser ensuite avec lui.

Je ne crois pas que l'on ait jusqu'à ce jour rencontré dans le Nord de ces enseignes à l'effigie de S. Christophe, ou du moins, celles reproduites par M. Forgeais proviennent du Vieux Pont de Berey à Paris. M. l'Abbé Corblet a donné de mes renseignements sur la dévotion à S. Christophe, à Cannes, Abbeville et dans d'autres localités de la Somme, dans son *Hagiographie du Diocèse d'Amiens* (notamment, t. iv, p. 205, 209), et dans une *Notice sur une Médaille de Dévotion d'Origine amiénoise* (Revue de l'Art Chrétien, t. ix, 1865).

Quant aux deux plombs de S. Winox, je dois vous avouer que j'ai éprouvé un doute et que je me suis demandé en les examinant si le graveur n'avait pas aidé un peu à la lecture de ce nom. Un moment j'ai cru qu'il s'agissait de Saint Ouen, que plusieurs de nos manuscrits nomment.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., exhibited an extensive and varied assortment of Cumberland knitting-sheaths, many of which indicate survivals of very ancient types. The descriptive notes will be given on a future occasion. Mr. Ferguson also exhibited a portrait of King William III, carved on ivory, with the name of the artist, SHELTON SCULPSIT.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a collection of glass, including the bowl of a *simpulum* of yellow and white glass, from the Minorities; a drinking-vessel of Chinese glass, white and yellow in bands, representing the section of a bamboo, with leaves at the joints, 5 inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$; a bottle in shape of a hooped barrel, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of Venetian glass,—white splashed with lapis lazuli, hooped with opal; a gourd-shaped bottle of pure, bright, true purple, in an extraordinary manner splashed with lattimo, resembling inlaying; and a small biberon, also of pure purple Italian glass splashed, with spout and handle of lattimo,—the latter wrought as a Chinese dragon, encircling the neck; a chalice (8 inches) set in old Italian cinque-cento enriched with turquoise, garnet, and rubies, of pure, true ruby glass (one of two), seventeenth century cutting,—and from its tint, thickness, and general dispositions, believed to be the work of Kunckel, of the seventeenth century.

To the foregoing were added a Roman *pollubium* of black ware and elegant shape, lathe-turned, from Mincing Lane; and a plaque of Venetian graffito and cameo-work, 3 inches in diameter, wrought on

¹ Voir une liste iconographique assez étendue dans l'Hagiographie de l'Abbé Corblet.

tortoise-shell. The shell is thin and transparent, and on the reverse bears a landscape with figures, houses, water, and ships. The landscape with its figures, and the ships, are in cameo. The sky is painted, but the water and all other flatnesses are graffito. The whole, with the exception of the sky, is covered thickly with gold of different shades, by which the effects of depth, sunshine, and distance, are admirably gained and preserved. The plaque received general admiration and examination. It, with others, may have been designed for the adornment of a cabinet; yet if so, need hardly have been cut so thinly. The general effect of the figures and shipping point strongly to Della Bella as the artist or designer, a striking and close resemblance to his rare prints being manifest. Mr. Mayhew hoped at a future meeting again to bring forward the subject.

As to the glass:—a *simpulum* (a sacrificial vessel used for libation) is, of all forms of glass, Roman or Greek, rarest. A very experienced observer stated he had seen but one. The small Roman bowl exhibited had once a frill of transparent glass, and an attachment (if a *simpulum*) to a straight, hooked handle. The object to which it was attached is lost; but the form, and the fact of its being a double bowl (yellow over opaque white) make it a rare and very interesting relic. Pure and bright purple Venetian glass is a rare and precious colour; and the art of purple such as this is lost to us. The nearest approach to the old Venetian has been made by Salviati; but this lacks the indescribable tint of the more ancient. The splashing process is a mystery also.

Kunkel, in 1676, at Potsdam, brought the beautiful ruby to perfection. His artificial ruby gems were so perfect, beautiful, and true, as to be sold by the carat. He was believed to have achieved excellence by using oxide of gold as a mordant. He said a fine ruby might be attained by other methods. Copper is now used; but the process is intricate. Oxide of iron produces a muddy red only. Kunkel's ruby is distinguished not alone by brilliance but by thickness, some specimens being more than half an inch thick. There is a fine ruby vase by this artist preserved at Potsdam. No reason can be assigned why Kunkel should not have made altar-chalices of ruby glass; ruby, if any colour. The thing seems strange to us; but altar-chalices of glass once were not uncommon. Their use (with pewter) was indeed allowed to poor churches; but at last they were forbidden on account of their fragile nature. Chalices were of brass and wood. Both were in after times forbidden: one, from rusting; the other, from its porosity; glass, because of brittleness. In the Roman Catacombs chalices of glass have been found. Donat, Bishop of Arezzo, had one; also Cesar, Bishop of Arles; so also St. Gregory of Tours; but the use was never general. In the great Abbey of the Stadium, Constantinople, the

chalices were of stone and marble till exchanged for silver by St. Theodore. Sometimes they were jewelled. A saying of St. Boniface at the Council of Trèves is worth preserving, "In olden time golden priests served with wooden chalices; now wooden priests serve with golden chalices." Knekel may have known all this, and in the enthusiasm of his art striven at least to rival with colour and jewels the altar-chalices of old of which we read.

A word on the Venetian plaque of tortoise-shell:—the golden graffito is found on the golden emblems of the Christian glass of the Catacombs. The art died out, to revive in the seventeenth century in Germany and Venetia.

Mr. Mayhew showed a graffito, golden, German glass representing a cavalry combat. When viewed opaquely it presents the glow of metal; when against the light, it resolves into the finest line-engraving.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "Roman Pottery Kilns on West Stow Heath", by Mr. H. Prigg, which has been printed above at pp. 152-55.

Mr. E. P. L. Broek read a paper entitled "Remains found at the Reading Gas-Works", by Dr. Joseph Stevens, which will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Rev. C. G. R. Birch, Brancaster Rectory, King's Lynn
Chas. Sherborne, Esq., Jnn., 540 King's Road, Chelsea.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To E. Stock, Esq., for "The Antiquary", 1880.

To Rev. W. S. Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., for "Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's." London, 1881.

To H. Phillips, Esq., Jun., for "Certain old Almanacks published in Philadelphia between 1709 and 1744."

To Professor T. R. Jones, F.R.S., for "On the Geology and Physical Features of the Bagshot District."

To the Society for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Jan. 1881. London. 8vo. 4th Series. No. 45.

It was announced that the Annual Congress would be held at Great Malvern, and that visits would be made to Ledbury, Kidderminster, Hereford, Worcester, and other places of interest in the locality.

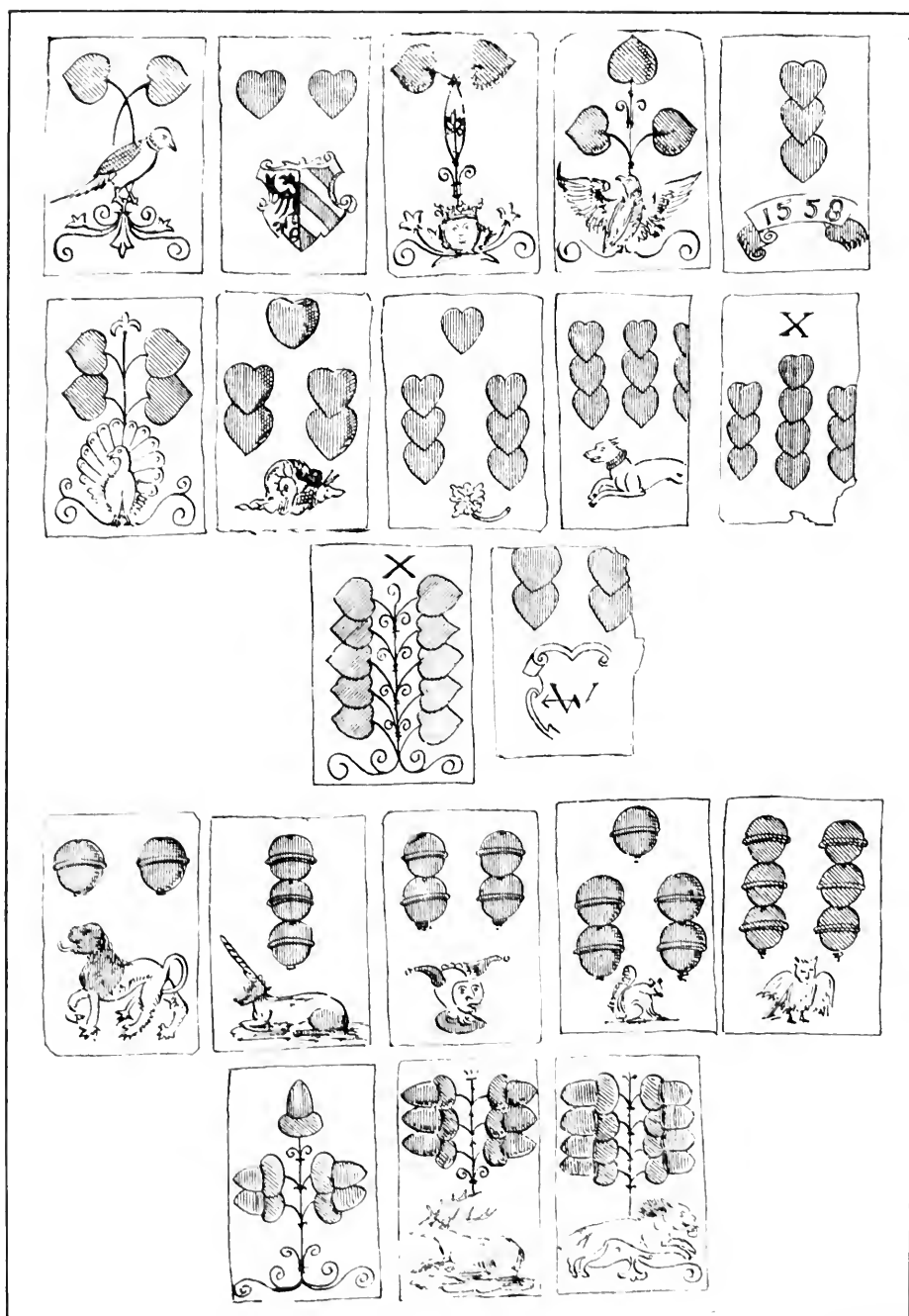
Particulars of the discovery of ancient British remains close to Wimbledon Common were given, and some of the objects found were laid on the table, having been lent for the purpose by Henry Clutton, Esq. These were as follow: 1. A disc of reddish clay, nearly 4 inches in diameter, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, perforated in the centre; probably a weight for a net. 2. Small rough clay spindle-wheel. 3. Small hand-made urn, known as a food-vessel, still containing a few grains of blackened wheat; poorly baked, of brown clay, and 3 inches in diameter. 4. Another, somewhat smaller, with impression of the maker's hands still remaining. 5. Polished celt of hard granulated stone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. 6. Fine-grained stone mould for casting the base of some bronze implement. 7. Bronze sword-handle of good workmanship, with holes drilled through for attaching the handles on each side, the bronze being in the centre. 8. Fragment of a cast bronze tube, a small celt with a loop, a fragment of a sharp spear-head, and several masses of bronze ready for working into articles. 9. One of several rough, tile-like objects which have measured, in a perfect state, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches, and perforated with circular holes made before baking.

Among the articles found, but which were too large for exhibition, are the following: a large hand-made funerary vase with a series of zigzag markings around the rim; a large, hollowed grinding-stone, and several objects similar to those exhibited. These relics point to the existence, not only of a burial-place, but to the presence of the living. The occurrence of the masses of bronze ready for manufacture, the mould for a bronze object, and the finished articles, all indicate the existence here of a worker in bronze, and afford another instance of the local fabrication of celts and swords at a very early period. The articles may probably have been made by the people who constructed the so called Caesar's Camp on Wimbledon Common, so wantonly destroyed a few years ago. The place of the discovery is close to the junction of Combe Lane with the road from London to Kingston, at the gravel-pits on the estate of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, and at the west side of Combe Wood, which is between them and Wimbledon Common.

An animated discussion followed, and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., pointed out that the discovery had peculiar interest in relation to Caesar's Camp, since, when Wimbledon Common was drained, no articles are recorded to have been found. The site of the discovery is rather more than a mile from the Camp, on the opposite rising ground. The objects have been met with over an extended period of time, and are still found as the gravel-pits are enlarged.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a drawing of a curious watering-pot of the sixteenth century, which has recently been found 10 feet below the modern surface of Messrs. Waterlow's premises





SPECIMENS OF PLAYING CARDS.
NUREMBERG. 1558.

in Canon Row, Westminster. The form resembles generally some of those described by the late R. Roberts, Esq., and figured in the *Journal*.

E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described some early articles of metal which were found a few days previously during some building works in the Farringdon Road. These consist of a long broad-bladed knife of Saxon form, a small iron spear-head, and a circular bronze buckle.

A series of playing-cards, eighty-eight in number, of curious design, and quaintly coloured, was then exhibited, and the following description read :

ON A PACK OF CARDS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, FOUND IN A
COVER OF AN OLD BOOK.

BY CECIL BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

In removing the cover of an old book having the curious book-plate, "*Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Evangeliei Aug. Vindel*", *i.e.*, Augsburg in Bavaria, and entitled "*Ephemerides Io. Baptistæ Carelli Placentini ad annos xviii incipientes ab anno Christi 1563 usque annum 1580. Meridiano inclitæ Urbis Venetiarum. Venetiis. Apud Vincentium Valgrisiun, 1563*", I found eighty-eight playing-cards and fragments which I exhibit. I am inclined to imagine them to be Venetian. The outside cover of the book was composed of a skin of parchment, on which was a defaced manuscript, on removing which I perceived that the under-cover was composed of alternate layers of cards and paper ; the paper being fragments of a Latin classical work, and the title-pages of a book printed at Nuremberg (Noribergæ) in 1559.

The cards consist of four suits,—Bells, Hearts, Leaves, and Acorns. No aces or court-cards were found. The cards are evidently of more than one pack, and are as follows, *viz.* :

BELLS.

- Three of No. 2. Two with two bells and a lion passant to left, and one with the lion passant to right.
- Two of No. 3. On one three bells and a unicorn, and on the other a hedgehog.
- Three of No. 4. Four bells and a fool's head on two, and a leaping goat on the third.
- Two of No. 5. Five bells and a squirrel on one ; on the other a bird with a crested crown.
- Two of No. 6. Six bells and an owl on one ; the other defective.
- Two of No. 7. Seven bells only.
- Three of No. 8. Eight bells and a flower on one ; bells only on the other two.
- Two of No. 9. Nine bells and a flying bat on one ; on the other the horns of a bull, the rest of the head cut off.
- One of No. 10. Ten bells and X.

HEARTS.

- Two of No. 2. Two hearts and a coat of arms; impaled on the dexter side a spread eagle, on the sinister side a bend of three.
 One of No. 3. Three hearts and the date 1558.
 One of No. 4. Four hearts with a coat of arms on which is a W pierced with an arrow.
 One of No. 5. Five hearts and a snail.
 No. 6 lost.
 One of No. 7. Seven hearts and a flower.
 One of No. 8. Eight hearts.
 One of No. 9. Nine hearts and a running dog.
 Four of No. 10. Ten hearts and an X. On a fragment a bird.

LEAVES.

- Three of No. 2. Two leaves, and a parrot on one; on another a crowned head; the third defective.
 Two of No. 3. Three leaves, and a swan on one; on the other a bird with wings spread.
 Two of No. 4. Four leaves and a peacock.
 No. 5 lost.
 One of No. 6. Six leaves.
 Three of No. 7. Seven leaves.
 One of No. 8. Eight leaves.
 One of No. 9. Nine leaves.
 One of No. 10. Ten leaves and an X.

ACORNS.

- Two of No. 2. Two acorns, and a baboon holding a shield, on which is a bar lozenge. On a scroll over the head of one, "Hone Schrag"; on the other, "Hans E."
 One of No. 3. Three acorns and a barking dog or wolf.
 No. 4 lost.
 Two of No. 5. Five acorns.
 Three of No. 6. Six acorns, and a stag lying down on two; on the third a bird.
 Three of No. 7. Seven acorns.
 Two of No. 8. Eight acorns and a running dog.
 Three of No. 9. Nine acorns, and an elephant on two; no device on the other.
 Two of No. 10. Ten acorns.

It is curious that a similar pack of cards was found in the cover of an old edition of Claudian printed before 1500, the cover being composed of cards and a leaf or two of Erasmus' *Adages* pasted together. These cards were exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 9th, 1763, by Dr. Stukeley, who conceived that the Bells, Hearts, Leaves, and Acorns, represented the four several orders of men. The Bells, such as were usually tied to hawks, denoted the nobility, who generally rode with a hawk on their hand as a mark of their quality. Hearts, he says, denoted ecclesiastics. Leaves allude to gentry who possess

lands, manors, woods, and parks. Acorns signify the peasants, woodmen, foresters, hunters, and farmers. Other packs of cards have been found in the covers of old books. Mr. Chatto, in 1841, found in the covers of an ancient volume four squares of paper, one containing the valet, or knave of clubs and spades, with the names of Lancelot and Hogier; and another, the valet of diamonds and hearts, Roland and Erard de Valery; the other two squares consisted of pips of diamonds and hearts so arranged that they might be cut into four cards. The *Cuvesule* pack, temp. Charles VII, discovered in a similar manner by M. Henin at Lyons, in a small quarto volume formerly belonging to the Cathedral library of Peterborough.

In the Print Room of the British Museum there is also a pack of cards taken from the covers of an old book, which Mr. Chatto considers, from the costumes of the figures, and the occurrence of the lion of St. Mark on more than one of them, that they are the production of a Venetian cardmaker. The lion appears on the deuce of Bells which I now exhibit. These cards resemble those found by Dr. Stukeley, and described by Mr. Gough in the eighth volume of the *Archæologia*. Mr. Reid, of the British Museum Print Room, pronounces these cards here figured to be unknown, and of considerable interest.

In the discussion which ensued, Charles Sherborn, Esq., spoke of a similar discovery which he had made of an earlier pack of cards of French work, which he had found pasted in the covers which had been formed of old MSS., and used in the binding of a book printed at Basle in 1562, and now in the British Museum.

A paper was then read by the Chairman on some of the peculiarities of the mosaic pavements of the Roman villa at Brading, which will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

G. Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., spoke of the great extent of the buildings forming the villa, and which are known to extend nearly a quarter of a mile from the excavated pavements. It is also apparent that there were a harbour and landing-place near Yaverland, where some mounds still remain.

Mr. Brock said that it must be a matter of congratulation that the first notice of these remarkable discoveries was laid before this Association, and encouragement rendered for their prosecution, which has produced such gratifying results, although so little, comparatively, even yet has been done.

An elaborate paper prepared by J. T. Irvine, Esq., was then read, "On the Norman Cathedral of Bath as revealed during the recent Repairs of the Abbey Church." This will appear in a future Number of the *Journal*. It was illustrated by a great number of carefully prepared drawings of the remains.

C. H. Compton, Esq., drew attention to the capital state of preservation of the Parish Registers of Holy Trinity, Guildford. These commence on July 30, 1558, and are kept in a manner deserving of all commendation.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1881.

CECIL BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Further arrangements in respect to the Congress at Great Malvern were announced, and it was hoped that the programme would be in the hands of the Associates in a short time.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library of the Association :

To the Author, J. Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.B., F.R.S., for "The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland." 1881. 8vo.

To the Author, Howel W. Lloyd, Esq., for "Anglicanism in the Diocese of St. Asaph." Oswestry, 1881.

To the Societies, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", 2nd Series, vol. viii, No. 4; and "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", Part 28, 1881.

The Rev. R. E. Hooppell of Byers Green, Spennymoor, sent for exhibition a squeeze of an early grave-cover of interesting form; and another squeeze of a rudely sculptured stone representing a swathed figure, or chrysom-child, found at a considerable depth below the surface in the churchyard of St. Andrew's, Auckland. Mr. Hooppell promised a further report on these discoveries.

Mr. C. Lynam sent a further communication respecting the extensive archæological discoveries now in course of prosecution in diggings at Stapenhill, and illustrated his remarks with coloured drawings of three of the early vessels found. He writes as follows :

"At Stapenhill, near Burton-on-Trent, there has been a very extraordinary archæological find. On the ridge of a hill a number of human skeletons have been disclosed; some of them in a most perfect state. They lie in every possible direction, and in every variety of attitude. They are of males and females. The skulls are said to be of different types. In the sizes of the skeletons there is great variety. With the bones are found metal spear-heads, flint arrow-heads, bronze ornaments, such as large pins, clips, brooches, etc.; also urns of pottery, mostly black, rudely ornamented with incised patterns, etc.; small rude pots which appear never to have been burnt; glass beads with a rude *pâte*

sur pâte pattern on them, bone or ivory ornaments beautifully incised, iron buckles, one small coin, the boss of a shield, etc.”



Pottery found at Stapenhill. One quarter real size.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave an account of the recent progress of excavations at Silchester.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a small bell of Celtic type, with four little feet, a bronze torque, two fibulæ, and two celts of somewhat unusual form.

Mr. Sherbourne exhibited a series of drawings of the early playing cards, called “Dr. Stukeley’s”, in the British Museum; and some fragments of early printed books and MSS., with colours of playing cards set off on them, taken by him from the millboards forming covers of old books. These were shown in reference to Mr. Brent’s paper.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. E. M. Thompson, F.S.A., V.P., Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum, entitled “Apocryphal Legends.” This will be printed hereafter. Mr. Birch also exhibited impressions of two seals forwarded by Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., V.P., and read a paper by the same, “On Seals of the Knights Templars.” This will also appear in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 4, 1881.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DEC. 1880.

At the General Meeting of this Association held in May 1873, your late Treasurer gave an account of the receipts of the Society during the previous twenty-eight years, 1845 to 1872, both years included, and showed the two principal sources of income,—1st, from contributions at the Congresses; and 2ndly, from the usual subscriptions and donations. This latter source, though falling in one year as low as £252, and rising in another to £425, had yielded on the average of the twenty-eight years an annual sum of £333. I have extracted in the same way the receipts of eight years, from the same source, elapsed since the period referred to, with the following results :

		Congresses.				Subscriptions and Donations.
1873	...	£184	8	6	...	£265 11 10
1874	...	107	1	11	...	321 6 3
1875	...	101	7	9	...	349 19 2
1876	...	89	16	8	...	352 5 0
1877	...	38	15	2	...	387 4 0
1878	...	82	5	0	...	313 3 0
1879	..	96	18	6	...	282 9 0
1880	...	73	5	3	...	394 15 0
		<hr/>			<hr/>	
		8)773 18 9			8)2666 13 3	
		<hr/>			<hr/>	
		£96 14 9			£333 6 8	

Showing an average, for the eight years, of £333 a year, or exactly the same sum yielded by the previous long period,—a remarkable coincidence in the face of the inequality of single years. Then the average of the last eight years' Congresses has been £96 : 14 : 9; upon which the Society may be congratulated, because this sum has enabled us to keep up the *Journal* and illustrations, which could not have been done on the subscriptions only.

It will be seen by the balance-sheet which I have the honour to present, that the receipts of last year have been unusually good, and the amount against the Society has been reduced from £65 : 19 : 6 to £8 : 2 : 3. We must be prepared, however, for a smaller amount this year as many arrears have been paid up, and after a full year comes one of leanness. Hence it will be very important to secure a good attendance at the coming Congress at Malvern; and Mr. G. Wright inspires us with confidence on this head, as the result of his preliminary inquiries and arrangements.

THOMAS MORGAN.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1880.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	£359	1 0	Balance over-drawn from last year	.	65 19 6
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	35	14 0	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	.	238 18 6
			Illustrations to the same	.	85 17 0
Sale of publications	.	.	Miscellaneous printing and advertising	.	28 2 8
Balance of receipts from the Devices Congress	£62	17 3	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	.	19 1 8
Ditto from London Excursion	10	8 0	Rent for 1880, and clerk's salary	.	67 3 2
Balance due to the Treasurer	.	.	Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	.	9 14 6
			Insurance of books at 19 Montague Place	.	0 10 0
				£315	7 0

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

ROBT. EARLE WAY } *Auditors.*
WALTER MYERS }

April 28, 1881.

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1880.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual General Meeting held this day, their customary Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year, 1880.

1. By a comparison of the members of the Association in the current part of the *Journal*, dated March 31, 1880, with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of 444 names is shown against a similar total of 449 names for 1879, and 417 for 1878. For the present, therefore, the numerical strength of the Association appears to be stationary. The names of several Associates who were considerably in arrear with their subscriptions have been removed from our list, which, perhaps, now represents more accurately than before the financial strength of the Association. During the period covered by this Report several gentlemen of eminence in the world of archæology and antiquarian literature have been elected; and we confidently trust we are right in assuming that the British Archæological Association will continue to increase its intellectual strength at the satisfactory rate of progress which of late years has been so evident.

2. Biographical notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to the Editor for that purpose. These will be found in those parts of the *Journal* which are set apart for the object.

3. During 1880, sixty-seven complete works, or parts of works, have been presented to the rapidly increasing library of the Association. The urgent necessity of providing a suitable depository for the library has, as was reported last year, been met; and it is hoped that before long a catalogue of the books and relics in the possession of the Association may be prepared and printed in the *Journal*, to the advantage of the members. The suggestion which was made by the Secretaries last year, with regard to the lending out of books, under certain conditions, to the members, has however, not yet been carried to a practical issue.

4. Forty-five of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Great Yarmouth, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year. The Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no falling off in material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, inasmuch as there are in hand several important contributions both to British and foreign archæology from the pens of Associates and others. These papers, so far as the very limited number of pages at the com-

mand of the Editor will permit, will find place in the following numbers of the *Journal*; and the Honorary Secretaries here desire to point out that a considerable sum of the income of the Association is annually expended on the production of the *Journal*, whereby a very large proportion of the annual subscription is returned to the Associates.

5. The Honorary Secretaries would also remind the Local Members of Council and Associates generally, that no opportunity ought to be lost of laying before the Association meetings, from time to time, early accounts and notices of fresh discoveries and interesting researches, thereby assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archaeology and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the Association.

6. With respect to the "Antiquarian Intelligence", it is found that this useful medium of communicating new and prominent matters, and of reviewing archaeological publications, has in many ways prospered, and has advanced the position of the Association in literary circles, and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly thank all who have therein assisted them by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries.

W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
E. P. L. BROCK }

The ballot was then taken, with the result as follows:

President.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE, THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR II. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
T. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.R.S.L.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.
(With a seat at the Council.)

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE, Esq.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

ARTHUR COPE, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.

R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., L.R.C.P.

Ed., F.R.S.L.

R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, Esq.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.

J. WHITMORE, Esq.

T. J. WOODHOUSE, Esq., M.D.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.

These Reports were unanimously adopted, and the following resolutions were proposed, seconded, and carried by acclamation :

1. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the President of the past year, the Earl Nelson, for the kind and generous manner in which he has fulfilled the duties of the office.

2. That the thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their valuable services and attention to the welfare and interests of the Association during the past year.

3. That the thanks of the Association be accorded to the honorary officers and members of Council for the excellent manner in which the business of the Association has been conducted under their unfailing superintendence.

4. That the thanks of the Association be tendered to all those who by contributions of papers and intelligence, and by exhibitions and descriptions of antiquities, have so eminently co-operated in the promotion of the true objects of the Society.

5. That the thanks of the Meeting be cordially given to the Local Secretaries of the late Congress at Devizes for the very warm manner in which they undertook to work for and welcome the Association on the occasion of the Annual Congress in that town.

6. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors of accounts for the current year.

7. That a cordial vote of thanks be rendered to Mr. C. Tenniswood, who had retired from the office of draughtsman, for the valuable services which he had for so long a time, and so frequently, rendered to the Association.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Excursion Secretary*, described the latest arrangements respecting the Congress to be held in August at Great Malvern.

REMARKS ON THE SESSION, AND ON THE EXCURSION IN LONDON.

BY THOS. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

The archæological work in which we have been engaged during the past session has been one more than usually fertile in new discoveries, particularly in London. Hence there is the more reason for not passing over in silence a four days' excursion to London, made in October last, by some of our country members and others in search of antiquities in this metropolis. Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. John Reynolds of Bristol had planned this expedition at the Devizes Congress, and a small committee was formed to carry it out, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., acting as commander in chief, and Mr. G. Patrick as honorary secretary and treasurer. As I trust that Mr. Wright will give an account of the proceedings, I will only trouble you with a few after-thoughts, some of which may be worth recording.

In Westminster Abbey, that great monument to Edward the Confessor, reared upon the site of his foundation by those who fondly worshipped his memory, who would not be struck with the mosaic pavement surrounding the shrine, to which the body was translated in 1269; the tombs of the royal personages, set round it as in a crown; and with that rare specimen of mosaic work of the time of Henry III, in front of the high altar? These mosaics, though different in construction to the tessellated pavements of old Roman times, still derive their origin from those works adapted to the new uses they were put to, as they were in the churches at Byzantium, Ravenna, Rome, and Florence. This style of ornamentation has been revived here with excellent effect in the spandrels under the dome of our cathedral church of St. Paul. But why are they not completed?

In exploring the remains of the monastic buildings at Westminster, and these can only be traced by those who know where to look for them, we were fortunate enough in having for our guide Mr. J. T. Mickelthwaite, F.S.A., who could elucidate both the history and the architecture. He could tell us of the pious devotedness of Simon Langham, who was elected Abbot in 1349; and though successively translated to be Bishop of Ely, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal, yet his fondness for the *alma mater* at Westminster, induced him to leave his money to this foundation of Edward the Confessor. Abbot Littlington, his successor in 1362, had the benefit of the legacy in making his additions to the fabric between 1375 and 1386. An eastern doorway into the cloisters was pointed out as being of the date of the middle of the thirteenth century; while another doorway on the western side dates from the following century, or more than a

hundred years later; and here architecture comes in support of history. The date of the beautiful chapter-house has been given, on good evidence, as between 1245 and 1253.

In visiting the parish church of St. Margaret's, close to the Abbey, those who remember it in its muffled condition of carpentry work will hardly recognise the building now displayed in the integrity of its stone walls. I find a memorandum that in the time of Edward I "the parishioners and merchants of the Wool Staple at Westminster builded of new the said church, the great chancel excepted, which was lately before new-built by the Abbot of Westminster." Its subsequent history was given to us by Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A.

From Westminster to Lambeth Palace. What a train of reminiscences rises up by association of the two names! The annals of Lambeth can tell of a Baldwin, in the reign of Henry II, who resolved to have a collegiate body of secular canons in place of regular monks outside the cathedral city of Canterbury, and considered it politic to found a similar institution where Lambeth Palace now stands, on the south side of the river, and half way between the City and Westminster. This Primate Baldwin was fired not only with religious but with military zeal when as a Crusader in helmet and cuirass, with the banner of St. Thomas unfurled before him, he fought by the side of England's lion-hearted King, and won a soldier's grave amid the sands of Palestine.¹ His example may have inspired Cardinal Kempe in a later age to accompany Henry V to France, and to witness the great victory at Agincourt. The Lollards' Tower of grey stone, in the extreme north-west corner of the Palace buildings, though popularly known by this name for many years, is not rightly so named. The real Lollards' Tower was the south-west tower of St. Paul's Cathedral, used, as says Stow in his *Survey of London*, as the bishops' prison, "for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the Church. Adjoining to this Lowlarde's Tower is the parish church of St. Gregory."

On the river face of the grey tower of Lambeth is "a small vacant niche, once filled, it is said, by a statue of Thomas à Becket, to which the watermen were wont to uncover their heads as they passed along the silent highway."² A prison there was in the palace; but it appears to have been rather a place of detention for suspected persons than a prison for their punishment. The chapel of the Palace is of more than ordinary historical interest.

When Parliament, in the seventeenth century, seized "Lambeth House", the books were transferred to Sion College, then recently

¹ *Quarterly Review* for July 1878 gives a full account of Lambeth Palace.

² *History of Old St. Paul's*, by W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., p. 113. London, 1881.

founded in the City, and were brought back by Sheldon, the successor of Juxon. This last named prelate restored the great hall, mentioned as *Aula Magna* in the time of Edward II (1321), which had been levelled to the ground by Scot and Hardy. In this hall, which is now the library, we were received by the librarian, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., who gave us an historical account of the building, and had arranged for our inspection a much larger assortment of prints, books, and MSS., than we had time properly to examine; and by the kindness of the Archbishop we were permitted to inspect every part of this venerable pile.

On the second day of our pilgrimage, when we met in the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's, Southwark, or, as it was anciently called, St. Mary Overy, and listened to the description and history of that monastic foundation by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., we must have been struck by his remark, that London possessed three beautiful specimens of Early English architecture, and England might be searched from one end to the other without finding more elegant specimens of Early English work. He referred to the Temple Church, the chapel of Lambeth Palace, and the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's, Southwark. We were fortunate in having seen all three; and I may add that examples in London of the Norman style being so few, we were fortunate to have seen almost all of them,—the Infirmary Chapel at Westminster; the choir of this church of St. Saviour's, altered, however, in a later age; a crypt near the Charter House in Smithfield; the church of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield; and the very perfect chapel at the top of the White Tower in the Tower of London.

A stone slab in the pavement of the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's is not often noticed, but has carved on it the inscription,—

“ALEYN FERTHING LIST (*ici*)
(*Dieu de son*) ALME EIT MER[I
AMEN.”

Alan Farthing represented the Borough in the Parliaments of 11, 12, 13, Edward III (1337-9). In 1346 Alan Farthing is mentioned again; and further, for the last time, in 1348. This slab was removed here from the old Town Hall, which stood on the site of St. Margaret's Church, to which this slab, doubtless, originally belonged. The pretentious tomb of Bishop Launcelot Andrews, removed from a chapel now destroyed, rests in the Lady Chapel at the back of the choir-screen. He was formerly vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, living under three sovereigns, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I (1555-1626).

The splendour of this church in the fifteenth century was much contributed to by the Cardinal Henry Beaufort, second son of John of Gaunt, whose cardinal's hat and pendent tassels are carved in the

stone of one of the piers of the south transept. Another great benefactor was the poet Gower, whose tomb is now seen in the eastern wall of the same transept, whither it was removed from one of the aisles. He was a lawyer by profession, of the Temple, and according to some Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; but poetry earned him his renown. He was poet laureate to Richard II; and contributed largely to the repairs of the church about 1400 A.D. Of his three principal works, the *Confessio Amantis* in English, the *Speculum Meditantis* in French, and the *Vox Clamantis* in Latin, the first only has been printed by Caxton in September 1483, and by Bertheletti, "Flete St.", in 1532, and again in 1554. The two others are in manuscript, the *Speculum Meditantis* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the *Vox Clamantis* in the Bodleian and at All Souls'. Besides these there are some small poems in manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge. He died in 1402.

Little time was allowed us for walking up the High Street, where bishops and abbots formerly had their town houses, conveniently situated for attending Parliament and Convocation; and a few of the old inns or hostelries are still to be seen with their wooden galleries around an open quadrangle, which have been often described, particularly the Tabard, rendered famous by Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims lodged here in 1383. Geoffrey Chaucer was connected with the City through being its chronicler. He was allied to royalty by marrying a younger sister of Catherine Swynford, wife of John of Gaunt, and thus was also related to Cardinal Beaufort. He was deprived of his pitcher of wine and pension for his Wickliffe tendencies; but the pension was afterwards restored to him, and he received an annual pipe of wine instead of a pitcher.

Southwark seems to have been famous for stage-plays through a long period. Besides the "Corpus" pageantry and miracle-plays, the inn-yards were much used by the actors for their performances, and the galleries could accommodate many spectators. Then the Globe Theatre stood at Bankside, where Shakespeare took part in his own plays; and not far off were the Bear Garden and the Paris Garden, used not only for bull and bear baiting, but also for stage-plays. In the church of St. Mary Overy are buried the great dramatic writers,—Fletcher, who flourished 1576-1625; Beaumont, 1586-1616; Massinger, 1584-1640.¹

Crossing the Bridge into Lower Thames Street, I will only refer to the remains of a Roman bath carefully preserved under the Coal Exchange, and which has been described in the *Journal*,² by saying that

¹ See *Antiquities of St. Saviour's Southwark*, by M. Concanen and A. Morgan, 1795, who furnish some curious particulars of the stage in the time of Shakespeare.

² Vol. iv, p. 38, and again in vol. xxiv, p. 295.

near this was the Steelyard, where so many antiquities have been found. This name is said to be corrupted from *Staelhoff*, contracted from *Stapelhoff*, the general house of trade of the German nation. The League of the Hanse Towns procured them great privileges.

Not far from the Guildhall, the crypt of which we descended to see, once stood the old Bury or Court Hall, on the east side of Aldermanbury, near the west end of the Guildhall now in use, which was begun in 1411, and not fully finished for twenty years after. The Museum under the Library does credit to the City authorities; and no one should pass without viewing the Roman tessellated pavement found in Bucklersbury in 1869, which has been described by Mr. John Edward Price, F.S.A.,¹ and is preserved in the Museum.

The Charterhouse was kindly thrown open to us, and every part of this old abode of the Carthusian Friars, whose Priory was finished in 1370, was described by the Rev. H. V. Le Bas and Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A. The present building was built by a Duke of Norfolk, who lived here till committed to the Tower in 1571. In the great hall are the Howard arms with this date. This Smithfield may be called classical ground in English story, from the time when that flower of chivalry, Sir Walter Manny, bought a piece in 1349 to bury those who died of the plague, and as many as fifty thousand persons are said to have been buried there before the ground was used for other purposes. Then it recalls the tournaments held here, where the prowess of many a gallant knight was determined, and the blamelessness of many a fair lady. The wrestling-matches at St. Bartholomewtide succeeded these amusements, and the more plebeian sports of Bartholomew Fair attracted the noisy and the idle from all parts of the town; but the state and pageantry of the City authorities gave an official dignity even to these assemblages. The Lord Mayor, Sir William Walworth, in quelling the riots of Richard II's reign, earned his historic renown and dagger on the City shield. The rioters, however, destroyed the Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, "causing it to burn for seven days together, nor suffering any to quench it." This was in 1381. Mr. George Patrick gave us a history of this foundation in the ancient portal, which is the only part remaining of the old building. The house had been founded in 1100, and received consecration at the hands of Heraclius, Bishop of Jerusalem. The knights of this order are said to have held, in different parts of Christendom, no less than nineteen thousand manors. In the 18th Edward III, the Temple, the property of the Knights Templars, was made over to these Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and they let it, with the appurtenances thereof, to the lawyers at a rent of £10 a year.

After viewing an old Norman crypt under a modern church, we

¹ Nichols and Sons, 1870.

were gratified with the sight of, perhaps, the most ancient in London, the great church of the Priory of St. Bartholomew. This Priory had been founded in 1102 by one Rabere, minstrel or jester to Henry I, who, quitting his profligate life, became the first Prior of his own foundation. Queen Mary peopled it with black or preaching friars.

We will gladly pass over the fires of Smithfield, kindled in the name of religion, to the green sward of one of our noblest Inns of Court, that of Gray's Inn, which we were admitted to view through the kindness of the Chaplain, the Rev. Alexander Taylor, one of our active members. The manor, under the name of Portpole, belonged to the Grays from an early period till the latter end of the reign of Henry VII, when it was sold by Edmund Lord Grey of Wilton. A particular interest attaches to this quaint old establishment with its chapel and quadrangles and large garden of seven acres, surrounded by lofty trees planted by the care of the learned Masters of the Inn, from Lord Bacon downwards. The hall with its roof of timber, and walls hung with portraits of great dignitaries of the law in their scarlet and ermine robes; the library well stored with books; dining-room and galleries with many relics of the past, as Queen Elizabeth's chair,—all look as if that Queen might still be living, so little has the place been changed. We were glad of the opportunity of seeing this Inn before a change should come, of which some rumours have reached us.

By the time we had sought the spot where the old Temple once stood in Holborn, on the south side, just outside the Bars, and had walked down New Street, leading to the New Temple in Fleet Street, an October sun had fairly set. The new street is now Chancery Lane, and the new Temple is one of the oldest buildings in London. Mr. Brock's discourse upon the building was attentively listened to by a large party in the Temple Church, under the "dim, religious light" which cast not ineffective shadows on the circular nave and the beautiful choir with its polished shafts of Parbeck marble, which looked as fresh as when first erected. Mr. Brock justly observed that this building is not to be surpassed in elegance of design; and the effigies of the knights in chain-mail could not have been more appropriately placed than in this Temple which belonged to their order, and where they now lie, testifying to the care with which the lawyers have executed their trust.

The third day was devoted to the Tower and neighbourhood, and at an early hour we found ourselves crossing the old bridge which spans the moat between the Middle, or Martin's, and the Byward Tower, and when we reached the Traitor's Gate we had, in the words of the poet, "a palace and a prison on each hand". The Palace has had a new interest attached to it, from the recent opening out and restoration of the Cradle Tower, so called from the moveable platform through which

not only the stores were taken in for the Palace, but here was the water or garden-entrance for those who came by boat; and the site of the garden has been traced. Mr. Compton had previously exhibited drawings of these restorations, which elicited from our meetings much praise for the careful and accurate manner in which every boss and corbel and moulding had been restored.

We were most kindly received by the Major of the Tower, General Milman, C.B., in person, who, by taking us round the open space, which is now clear, between the inner and outer ballium, gave us an insight into the topography and views of the ten towers, which could not be obtained formerly when numerous modern buildings and sheds obstructed the passage. In completing this circuit we came upon the Cradle Tower on the southern face, and thence up through the Bloody Tower to the inner ballium, visiting the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, where so many of the unfortunate victims of political and religious strife were buried.

As there is no desire here to write the history of England, we must quit the Tower of London; but before leaving must refer to that fine old portion of a Roman wall within the Tower precincts, which runs from north to south, on the eastern side of the White Tower, and runs parallel to it. This is not in a line with the London Wall referred to hereafter, which runs down to the postern-gate; but when further portions of the ground within the Tower are opened, it will be seen which direction this Tower wall takes towards the north, when it leaves the line parallel to the White Tower.

The day was wet, and we were glad to take advantage of the offer of shelter in the great room of the Trinity House, where, by the kindness of the Secretary, Mr. Allen, and the Sub-Secretary, Mr. Inglis, we were allowed to hold our discussions upon the City Wall and that portion of it near Postern Row opened out in 1852, as described in our *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 240, and again, ix, p. 160. The portion in Trinity Square is seen above ground, and that in Messrs. Barber's vaults is preserved below (as figured in the *Archæologia*), which we visited by permission on this occasion. Lately another portion has been uncovered in America Square; and more than seen, it has been destroyed; so that we had an opportunity of minutely inspecting its construction and the position of the courses of tiles made use of in the building. Several of the tiles have been exhibited at our evening meetings. I saw a very fine one taken out myself from a course which went right through the wall, here 7 feet thick.

The Trinity House, in which we were assembled, by its position on Tower Hill preserves the traditional connection of this place with the navy. The bust of the hero of Trafalgar was seen on the staircase, and on the opposite wall a large picture of naval and other celebrities

of the time when the building of the present structure was contemplated. Tower Hill was once a favourite place of residence for naval men when the Admiralty offices were in Seething Lane, extending to Muscovy Court. Pepys, the Secretary to the Admiralty, who lived in this Lane, wrote thus in his *Diary*: "5 Sept. 1666. About two in the morning my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cries of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is at the bottom of our lane." In another place he says: "Going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by workmen out of the King's yard, sent by Sir William Pen, there is a good stop given to it as well at Mark Lane as our's, it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church and part of the porch, and was there quenched." It was luckily stopped at Mark Lane, and thereby the church of St. Olave, Hart Street, was saved from the fire.

The value of church registers is shown by the following extracts from Allhallows, Barking,¹ a church near the Tower, on the hill where many of the victims by the axe were buried. "1644, Jan. 1. John Hotham, Esq., beheaded for betraying his trust to the state. Jan. 2. Sir John Hotham, Knt., beheaded for betraying his trust to the Parliament. June 17, Dorothea, daughter of Sir John Hotham, Knt., and the Lady Elizabeth his wife." The last deaths were probably caused by grief after the fatal occurrences recorded in the first two entries. "*Baptism*.—1644, Oct. 23, William, son of William Penn and Margaret his wife, of the Tower Liberty." This was the famous Quaker, the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, who returned to England in his old age, and died at Beaconsfield in 1718. His father lived on Tower Hill, in a court adjoining London Wall. He was in the navy, became Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Navy. He is the same referred to in Pepys' *Diary* as Sir William.

There is some poetry recorded in the Register, written on the removal of the body of Archbishop Laud to St. John's College in Oxford, on July 21st, 1663. The body of Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, was removed from hence to the Tower, to be buried in the chapel there, near his friend Sir Thomas More.

In this church was a Chapel of the Virgin Mary, built and endowed by Richard I. Its privileges were confirmed, and the fabric repaired, by Edward I; but its most valuable enrichments were bestowed by John Tivetot, Earl of Worcester, in the reign of Edward IV, who founded a guild for a master and brethren, and endowed it with the Priory of Totingbee, the advowson of Streatham in Surrey, and part of the Priory of Ogbourne in Wiltshire. A charter of confirmation having been obtained from Edward IV, this chantry was henceforth

¹ *Antiquities of Allhallows', Barking*, by Joseph Maskell, curate of the said church. 1864.

called "*Cantaria Regis in Capella Beate Marie de Berkinge juxta Turrim.*" These were alien priories conferred on the Tivetot family by Henry VI when he dissolved those priories.

Passing by the church of St. Olave, in Hart Street, we were near the spot where stood the Priory of the Crossed Friars (*Sanctæ Crucis*), corrupted into Crutched Friars. In a cellar we saw a long piece of stone wall which once formed a portion of the Priory premises.

Northumberland Alley still preserves the name of Northumberland House, inhabited in the reign of Henry VI by two of the Earls of that title. One lost his life in the battle of St. Alban's; the other lost his son in that of Towton.

Following Jewry Street and the line of the Roman Wall, we reach the spot where Aldgate once stood; and near it resided John Stowe the antiquary, who at one time rented the old bar or gate. He died, and was buried on 8th April 1605, at St. Andrew Undershaft. We are now on the site of that very rich Priory called the Holy Trinity, formerly Christ's Church, founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I. The parishes of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Michael, and St. Catherine, were united into one, that of the Holy Trinity, which in old time had been of the Holy Cross or Holy Rood parish. The soke of the English Knighten Guild was given to Prior Norman, the first Canon Regular in all England. The soke was a tract outside the City wall, down to the river, held in the time of King Edgar by thirteen knights, with liberty of a guild for ever. These knights were each to accomplish three combats, one above ground, one under ground, and one under water, after this to run spears in Smithfield against all comers. By a charter of Edward the Confessor it was given to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and the prior was to be an alderman of Portsoken Ward. The Priory became very large and rich, and surpassed all the priories of London or Middlesex. It was given by Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Audley, Speaker of the House of Commons, and came afterwards, by marriage, to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and was then called the Duke's Place, a name still found on the spot; and where we lately came to another portion of the old Wall of London, laid bare in building some new houses, and of which excellent drawings and specimens of the stone, mortar, and tiles, were exhibited at an evening meeting. Holbein, the painter, is said to have died at the Duke of Norfolk's, and to have been buried at the church of St. Catherine Cree, where, at the dissolution of the Monastery of Christ Church, the inhabitants had to attend service. This church was described to us by the Rev. Dr Whittemore, the rector, and is an interesting specimen of a building in the transitional stage between the Pointed and revived classical style, attention being particularly called to the circular window at the east end. For further particulars of this and of the other churches visited,

I must refer to Mr. Brock's observations and to Mr. George Godwin's *Churches of London*.

For want of time we had to pass by St. Andrew Undershaft up St. Mary Axe, where formerly stood the church of St. Mary and St. Ursula at or near the "Axe", and through the footway called St. Helen's, as it was when this passage led through the premises of the nuns, and we were soon in their beautiful church listening to Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., who not only gave us the fullest architectural information as to the peculiar formation of this very curious edifice, but also some account of the many tombs of the period since the nuns ceased to be connected with it, and which tombs have gained for St. Helen's Church the name of the Westminster Abbey of the City. An account of the last ten years of the Priory is given by Mr. Thomas Hugo, M.A., in vol. ii of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*; and by the same author is a memoir of the church and Monastery of the Austin Friars, which we were unable to visit through want of time, but had to pursue a rapid course along London Wall towards Cripplegate Church, stopping on the way to take a look at Sion College, a foundation established by the Rev. Thomas White in 1623, upon the site of the old hospital or priory founded by William Elsing, a mercer, in 1332. The Rev. Mr. John Simson, Rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, one of the executors of Mr. White's will, had much to do in establishing this excellent College for the clergy of London. The library and hall contain some good paintings, and of historical interest.

After looking at the bastion of the Old London Wall at Cripplegate, the church of St. Giles had to be hurried over, and we could do little more than hear of some of the illustrious dead who were here buried. Among them the two antiquaries, John Speed and Robert Glover (Somerset Herald), as well as the zealous John Fox, who wrote the *Book of Martyrs*.

Our fourth day was spent in a visit to the British Museum, one of the institutions of the country which has certainly done its best, of late years, to keep pace with the times by increased facilities to the public in every branch of instruction. Two rooms have just been opened for additions to the Etruscan and Egyptian antiquities. Increased space has been devoted, in the basement, for the display of the magnificent mosaics from Carthage, Halicarnassus, and elsewhere; and the electric light in the Reading Room last winter nearly doubled the length of a student's day. Our Association must acknowledge the great attention shown us on the day of our visit by the heads of departments, Dr. Birch, F.R.S., F.S.A., Messrs. Newton, F.S.A., E. M. Thompson, F.S.A., G. Bullen, F.S.A., Grueber, and others, who conducted us through the collection of treasures of which they are respectively the guardians,

pointing out some of the most interesting objects, of which it would be superfluous for me to attempt any description. Perhaps, as the most appropriate to our present excursion, I should name that fine collection of engravings of Old London gathered together by Mr. Frederick Crace, suspended on panels, so that they can be conveniently seen, and very numerous. The many maps and plans of London at different periods should be first studied, and then the views of buildings, costumes, caricatures, old inns, ceremonials, and the ever varying stages of London life. We are transported to many old ruins which now have disappeared altogether, as the crypt and some other portions of the Convent of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, referred to by Mr. George Godwin; views of St. Saviour's, Southwark, at different dates, showing the building before the restorations of Mr. Gwilt; and the chapels of St. Magdalen and of Bishop Andrews, which formed part of the fabric of the church, but are now destroyed; views of the old inns in Southwark, as the Tabard and the King's Head; the prospect of Tower Hill on the occasion of the execution of the rebel lords in 1746, with the cavalry formed in a circle around, and all the accessories to give dignity to the last solemn act on this fatal spot. Old Father Thames appears almost on fire, as he was in 1666, and quite frozen over, as on the 11th February 1684, with the fair and the coaches and drinking-booths on the ice. Then the quaint dresses and head-gear of fashionable life at Ranelagh, before Vauxhall Gardens supplanted it. Among the caricatures is a view of the importation of foreign customs on one of the quays in Thames Street, and a singular portraiture of the mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Jesuits, and Fryars, through the streets of London on 17 November 1679.

Thus ended our agreeable excursion, in which we were encouraged by the presence of our noble President, who came up all the way from Trafalgar to dine with us at the Freemasons' Tavern, and take part in our proceedings.

Little space now remains for more about the evening meetings of our session, in which Roman antiquities greatly prevailed. Illness and the inclemency of the season deprived us, during the latter part of our session, of the presence and valuable assistance of Mr. H. Syer Cuming, whom, however, we now hope to see in renewed health and vigour.

The excellent plans and elevations of portions of the Roman Wall discovered at Duke's Place, exhibited by Mr. Watkin; and the same of the portion exhumed at America Square, and of the Wall found in the Tower, illustrated and described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., all furnish us with new facts concerning Roman London; and the same may be said, in a greater degree, of the extensive remains of a large Roman building at Leadenhall, which he has described and brought before us by actual plans and drawings, and specimens of the fresco-painted stucco from the walls.

The discovery of two Roman villas has been announced, one near Castor, Northamptonshire, by Mr. John Adeley ; and that at Brading, Isle of Wight, by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, with sketch of the mosaic pavement. A pavement has also been found in the Cathedral Close at Winchester, described by the Rev. C. Collier ; and the Rev. E. Hoopell furnished us with a copious account, illustrated with diagrams, of the important Roman settlement of *Winovium* (Binechester). Romano-British remains have been found by Dr. Joseph Stevens at Reading, and by Mr. A. L. Lewis at Pevensey. Mr. W. H. Butcher, of Devizes, has given us some further particulars of the villa and pavements uncovered at Bromham, and expects that excavations to be resumed there will lead to further discoveries. Our old friend Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., has announced a remarkable discovery of Roman remains in Newgate Street, of which we expect shortly to receive further particulars. A Roman painter's palette from Maryport has been exhibited by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A. ; and an interesting drawing of a "*Tabula honeste missionis*", found near Liège, which is especially interesting as containing a new name in connection with British history, that of T. AVIDIVS NEPOS, has been furnished by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. Dr. William Smart has described Roman remains at Nursling, Hants. ; and we have even had Roman inscriptions sent from Spain by Admiral Wood, from the Duke of Wellington's estate in the Vale of Granada.

One of the most valuable set of drawings we have seen were those of Mr. J. T. Irvine, produced and commented on by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, of the remains of a large Norman cathedral discovered some 6 feet below the level of the present Bath Abbey Church, on a portion only of which the latter church now stands. Let us hope we shall see this report in print. Among the antiquities exhibited by Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., was a Hebrew Scripture roll worn in the hats of the priests, which excited much interest.

Besides Roman discoveries, of which I have named a few, we have had many reports of prehistoric remains and exhibitions of specimens by Dr. Stevens, Messrs. Prigg, Worthington Smith, R. E. Way, and J. R. Allen, the latter having furnished us with an excellent drawing of Winwick Cross, Lancashire, an object of especial historical interest. And besides the miscellaneous collection of objects exhibited, of various dates and value, our meetings on two evenings were occupied by a lively discussion on the operation of the present law of treasure-trove, in which Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. C. R. Compton brought out the different phases of the subject, and what could be said on both sides of a controverted question. Dr. Phené, F.S.A., gave us a personal narrative, illustrated by drawings, of his recent visit to the country of the Troad, the scene of Dr. Schliemann's latest investigations ; and he

brought over from Ireland some very large fibulae manufactured there after the antique, which were explained and commented on.

It would not be right to close this sketch without a reference to the flint instruments from Cissbury, shown by Mr. Myers, F.S.A.; and since his return from Egypt, the intaglios, gems, and other objects, he has brought from thence, among which were a number of flint instruments most useful for comparing with those of Cissbury manufacture. I will close this notice by mentioning the inscribed tablets explained by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, of a Babylonian marriage-settlement, and some Roman inscriptions brought to our notice by Mr. Birch.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following gifts:

To the Author, W. Money, Esq., F.S.A., for "The First and Second Battles of Newbury", etc., 1643-46." London, 1881.

To Signor R. Dura for "Catalogo della Biblioteca del Rev. Monsig. D. Cesare Taggiasco", Roma, 1881; and "Catal. delle Collezioni dei Sign. Conte Maffei di Boglio e Car. R. Paolini", Milano, 1881.

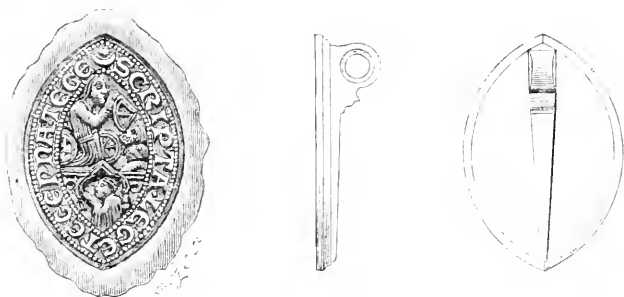
To G. Gould, Esq., for a Pamphlet entitled "Corrigenda of the Text of Shakespeare", 1881.

To the Societies, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxviii, No. 149; "Transactions of the Bristol Archæological Society", Parts 1, 2, and vol. iv, Part 2; and "Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Ireland", vol. v, July 1880, No. 43.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a communication from Mr. R. E. Way respecting a further discovery of Roman remains during excavations now in progress on the site of the old King's Head Inn, High Street, Southwark. These remains include flue and roof-tiles, portions of amphoræ in nearly every size (some among them being stamped with the potter's name on the handle), Samian ware, portions of urns, mortaria, filters, wine and oil vessels, bones of animals, oyster-shells, a small and elegant Roman key, and coins of Vespasian and Domitian. Mr. Way had reported a discovery on the same site in 1879, when coins of Claudius, Nero, Sabina, Salonina, Antoninus Pius, and Magnentius, were found. He inclines to the belief that a Roman villa stood on the spot, commanding a view of the river and ferry in Roman times, at the junction of the Watling and Stone Street.

Mr. Brock also exhibited the stone mould of some unidentified *signacula*, found in a digging at Liquorpond Street.

Mr. W. G. Smith, *Hon. Draughtsman*, exhibited a pointed oval brass seal found at Dunstable. In the upper part a kneeling figure between portions of wheels and human faces; in the base, under an arch, a half-length, suppliant figure. The legend is: SCRIPTA . LEGE . TEGE . P'NA . TEGE. The meaning of the fourth word is obscure. In other respects it resembles the legends, "Tecta lege, lecta tege", "Frange, lege, tege", etc., of mediæval seals. The subject of the design is unique. It may refer to a vision, or the principal event in the life of a saint. Mr. Smith also exhibited an extensive collection of coloured sketches taken with the camera lucida, of archæological remains in Wales.



The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited an oaken figure of a bishop from a stall-carving, and a figure of a South Sea idol also in oak; both from London excavations. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a counter of jetton, of base metal, bearing on the one side a shield of the arms of France encircled with a collar of SS, and ensigned with a crown; on the other a classic figure holding a sceptre and a staff with snake coiled on it, before a recumbent figure. Legend, "Subducendis Rationibus Cameræ Computorum Regiorum, 1582."

Mr. Sherborne exhibited a fine steel dagger with a gold panel on each side of the blade, near the handle, inscribed "Memento. Godfrey. Cæsus. Octo. 12. 1678. Pro. Religione. Protestantium." This belonged, in all probability, to a member of the band or society of persons formed to avenge the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which took place at Primrose Hill in the year above mentioned. Details of the event may be read in Park's *History of Hampstead*.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large and very miscellaneous collection of objects acquired by him in the course of recent travel up the Nile and in other parts of the East. These included, among other things, a number of flint flakes from the Nile, near Gournah; a spheroidal stone with fluted belting, used as a hammer, from the Tombs; flint cores from Candia, India, Mexico, and Cissbury Camp; a number

of mediæval and modern rings, and a Roman ring with a key in the bezel. The Egyptian objects comprise a blue vase, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, from Luxor,—imitation lapis lazuli, termed *Lapis faux* by French Egyptologists (authorities are not agreed of what material this vase is formed); alabaster vase, exhibited for comparison, from Luxor; five necklet-pendants of opaque glass, imitation lapis, from Luxor (the two larger were said to have been found at Medamot); three small objects of funereal use, in imitation lapis lazuli, from Luxor; fragment of a blue glass scarab from Abydos; an ape (?) in Persian lapis, and amulet, lapis, from Luxor; a broken deity, lapis, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, from Cairo; a pair of silver earrings from Luxor;¹ vase of steatite, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, in form of some animal, seal attached with small beads of agate and porcelain, and pectoral of blue porcelain in form of a pylon, 3 ins. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide, from Luxor; glass vessel of unusual form, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high, from Cairo; bead in porcelain, from Gizeh; a blue porcelain figure of Ptah; figure of a princess of the period of Shishak, green porcelain; enamel bead, 2 ins. long; alabaster vase, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, from a painter's palette; bronze statue of the goddess MA, or Truth, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high; two flat stones in shape of fishes, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long and $8\frac{3}{8}$ ins. long, respectively; a funereal statuette of the class called *shabti*, in wood, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, with hieroglyphic inscription,—all from Luxor.

J. S. Phené, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., read a paper upon "Ancient Oaken Figures found in England, in Reference to the Antiquities of Brittany." The paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter. A large number of diagrams were exhibited in illustration of this paper.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1881.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL NELSON, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogoushevsky, of Pskow, Russia

J. Ashby Sterry, Esq.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society for "Sussex Archæological Collections", vol. xxxi.

„ „ for "Smithsonian Report", 1879. 4to.

To R. Dura of Milan, for "Catalogo del Museo Bartolommeo Borghese : Monete Greche e Bizantine."

To C. Roach Smith, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., the author, for a tract on "Roman Coins discovered at Eastbourne."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited, on the part of Mr. R. Blair of South Shields, a sketch illustrative of recent discoveries

¹ See Evans' *Bronze Implements*, p. 392.

at that place, on the site of the *castrum*, and the fragments of a roofing-tile with graffito inscription. Mr. Brock also exhibited a series of fragments of Penates, lamps, and terra-cotta relics, from Cyprus and other parts of Asia Minor.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a very fine stone axe forwarded by Mr. J. H. Cooke of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, who writes as follows: "Doubtless there will be many persons well qualified to speak upon this relic. When Mr. Franks saw it at the Society of Antiquaries he remarked that it told its own tale. Having been originally much larger, and broken, it had been utilised by being chipped in order to fit it into a handle. I think it is, perhaps, worth remark also that it was found, not in drift or water-borne gravel, but in a bed of the so called 'angular gravel' of the Cotswold Hills, which our best local geologists consider to have been formed by the gradual decomposition, by atmospheric influences, of the oolite rocks of which those hills are composed. Hence it may be inferred that it belonged to and was used by inhabitants of the locality in which it was found, and that at no very distant, though probably prehistoric date. Small worked flints, arrow-points, etc., are frequently found in the neighbourhood; but natural, unworked flints are not found within many miles."

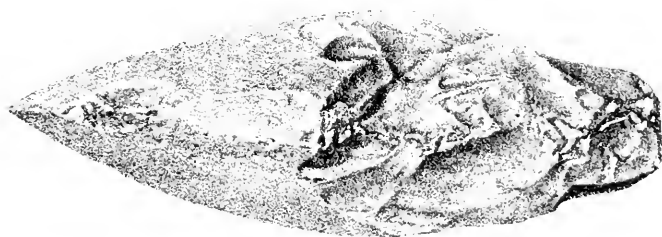
The Rev. E. Hooppell, of Byers Green, sent for exhibition the squeeze of a Roman tile-stamp reading C. VII B. EXO., from Lindum Colonia, or Lincoln, recently discovered.

Mr. H. Prigg, of Bury St. Edmunds, sent for exhibition:

1. A Roman finger-ring of silver, set with an intaglio, found by a boy keeping sheep upon the site of the principal cemetery of the Roman station of Icklingham, April 12, 1881. The ring has been considerably rubbed and scratched by the passage of agricultural implements. The subject of the engraving appears to be a Genius bearing in one hand two ears of corn, and in the other a bunch of grapes, or some fruit that grows in cluster.

2. A red sealing-wax impression of the pointed oval seal of Richard Godefrai, from the bronze matrix in his possession, found recently at West Stow. The Godfreys were anciently seated in the district in which the seal was found. Francis Godefrey was rector of Lackford, 1496, which parish adjoins West Stow. The device is a seeded fleur-de-lis. Legend, + S. RICARDI GODEFRAI.

3. A similar impression from an electrotpe of the secretum of an early sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk. The original was purchased by Mr. Prigg, some years ago, of a dealer in old metal, and lent by him to Mr. Edmund Waterton for exhibition in London, and for the reading of the inscription. Mr. Prigg found the seal among a collection exhibited by Mr. Ready of the British Museum, who kindly furnished him with the electrotpe. The seal was finished with a



WORKED FLINT WEAPON,
FOUND AT STINCHCOMBE HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
JUNE, 1880

carved octagon handle terminating in a trefoil. It bears a man in armour with a surcoat, holding a lance and flag, on which is a triple towered castle. In the field, on each side, a branching tree. Mr. Birch read the legend as +S'. EN . BONE . FOY . CRET . MOL.

Mr. W. G. Smith, *Hon. Draughtsman*, exhibited a series of hollow scrapers in flint, suitable for fashioning the round, wooden shafts of spears, etc.; and flint arrow-heads from the north of Ireland; also a series of arrow-heads in obsidian, and cores or nuclei, and long knife-like flakes of the same material, from Central America. Similar long and sharp blades of obsidian are used for shaving purposes in some parts of Mexico.

Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., of Canterbury, exhibited a fossil fish, a gypsiere or purse-handle, and some escutcheons or retainers' badges, from Canterbury; the chape of a Roman dagger and an ancient silver brooch from Buda-Pesth.

Mr. Brock exhibited, on the part of Mrs. Randle Clay, a golden scarabæus, of which some descriptive notes will, it is hoped, be given at another time.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a variety of objects, including impressions of seals, beads, Venetian and other glass, carvings, the enamel plaque of a casket, and a water-colour view of the early settlement of Sydney. Mr. Mayhew said:

"Most of us probably have read in the history of some notable siege, when, by reason of its straitness, the tables of the citizens, accustomed to plenty or luxury, gradually became barely furnished, and in the end they felt content with things before despised. This is somewhat our own case, since our members are invited to a table once worthily covered with antiquarian objects of discussion, 'the recent exhumations' from Roman London, and coming, find the miscellaneous assemblage of this evening. For the time being, at least, Roman excavation and discovery have ceased, and he is a happy man who possesses and exhibits a Roman potsherd. I do not say these varied objects of art have little or no interest: the contrary. But some hardly possess the tinge of antiquity; and one, at least, touches the line of modern life. May we treat them as a *catena*, passing them through our hands link by link? The chain will connect the eighteenth century with a very remote past.

"This, then, is the first link, very interesting to Englishmen, a water-colour picture (about A.D. 1790) of Sydney, the metropolis of South Australia. In the view are delineated the first houses and warehouse (twenty-eight in all) erected in the few years following the settlement in 1788, when the frigate *Sirius* conveyed thither six store and emigrant ships. This picture was given by the Governor of Sydney to the father of a deceased friend of mine, through whom it came to me.

Sydney city, from so small a beginning, contained in 1878, with suburbs, 174,249 inhabitants. Sydney district numbered 693,700. And what a future ! She will yet become the metropolis of that confederation of English speaking states which will direct the destinies of the southern hemisphere. Then, should this picture be in existence, it might well be reckoned with the hut of Tzar Peter at St. Petersburg.

“The second link brings us to the commencement of the eighteenth century, in a pair of Oriental perfume-bottles or sprinklers, 14 inches in height, with squared bases, globular bodies, elongated necks, cut in leaf-pattern, and gilded, and furnished with small screw-stoppers. One would imagine, by the lightness of the work, them to be Venetian, and made for the Oriental market. Mr. Cope pronounces them to be specimens of Persian glass manufacture ; yet they have an Orientalism suggesting Rhodian design and work, or the transmitted influences of an age still more remote. How enduring these influences were in form and taste may be seen in the comparison of the seventeenth century glass of Spain, North Africa, Rhodes, and Venice, with the glass of Egypt, Rome (perhaps Greece), brought to light from the excavations of Cyprus. Even to-day we use drinking-glasses of Roman shape.

“This glass enamel may be our third link. It is probably seventeenth century, at the end of it, and a panel of a cabinet or jewel-casket. It is difficult to correctly describe it. A sheet of copper, 6 inches by 18 inches, has been thickly covered with enamel, black and shining, bearing (inserted) as *cloisonné*, three pavilions with wreaths and chains, united by two larger and graduated wreaths surmounted by two ovals ; the whole formed of beveled Venetian glass with central and drop-gems, amethyst, topaz, carnelian, etc. The effect is dazzling, the coruscations of colour incessant. The elegance of taste and luxury of development appear to connect this object of art with the days of Watteau or the era of the Venetian Republic. I once exhibited two portions of enamelled slate, on which was an elegant tracery in gold, exhumed in London, in proximity with much figured Venetian glass, and found in a foundation in the once fashionable locality of Commercial Road East. This slate plaque was probably of a somewhat earlier period than that claimed for our enamel, appointments so luxurious and beautiful being common in the era of the Doges and the days of Louis XIV. A gold and a silver casket are introduced in a celebrated scene of the *Merchant of Venice*.

“Another link is represented by this Chinese snuff-bottle of fine porcelain capped by a silver-gilt cover-lid. Its subjects are : a lady in a covered boat is descending a river with one rower ; a man swims ashore bearing on his head a tray of fish. The river-banks are broken, hilly, and woody, and on prominent points stand groups of admiring spectators in variegated costumes. But most of these figures stand

out from the base like those on a Chinese tortoise-shell carving, and the remainder are in high relief. I am aware how rarely an example of Oriental skill such as this is seen ; but being so, in the opinion of Mr. H. S. Cuming, we have in this bottle a link connecting Eastern and Western art, probably suggestive of the later porcelain of Capo di Monte.

"I exhibit also a collection of beads of various colours, shapes, and dates. In this larger row are eleven rough, unformed, white beads, with about ninety of opal, lapis lazuli, imitative turquoise, ivory, jasper, and amber. This smaller row is a Venetian necklet, the beads being mostly of clear glass exquisitely enamelled, and otherwise decorated, and three ruby beads. The third collection has been formed from London excavations, and consists of Celtic, Saxon, Venetian, and wooden beads. From the earliest times beads have been used for purposes of traffic or personal adornment. They are found with the mummies of Egypt and America, and scattered from Egypt through the foundation of Roman and Greek colonies, and in Saxon graves; the earliest type being a blue glass bead in the Slade collection, found in a Theban sepulchre at Beni Hassan, and dating back to B.C. 2423. This bead bears the hieroglyphics of the goddess Nut and Sato, and prænomen of Unantef IV of the eleventh Dynasty.

"It may be asked, how is it that mediæval beads are so frequently turned up, as in London? They were used for religious purposes, for rosaries, and universally before the Reformation. These beads of wood, and these of imitative ivory, belong to this definition. A glass-house, for the production of Venice glasses by Venetian workmen, was in 1630-40 established by Sir James Howel in Broad Street; and these orange-coloured and painted beads were found in 1871 amongst the old foundations. The manufacture of beads as a separate branch of glass-making was commenced in Murano, with peculiar privileges, in the sixteenth century, and has continued to this day; the last pattern produced being a black bead ornamented by a Marguerite, in honour of the popular Queen of Italy.

"As to the manufacture of beads, rods of glass, of single or blended colours, are made of the diameter required. These rods, cut to the size, are placed in an iron pot with sand and charcoal, revolving over a slow fire, and obtain in the rough their globular or flattened shape. These are then transferred into bags with bran, and by friction obtain polish and finish.

"Specimens of rare character in Venetian glass of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are also here. This wine-flask and paten of Retacella, finished with opal mouldings, are fine. This flask, splashed with grey on pure purple, and the accompanying vase for perfume, of an equally fine quality, are both beautiful and rare. This quality of

purple is lost to us. It is, with the exception of the old lustrous German white, the rarest of colours, and the old artists are believed to have produced it from oxide of gold. But a still more beautiful object is this Murano cup. Here again is a beautiful and very uncommon specimen of seventeenth century taste. The cup is a flower clouded white, or tinged with red or chalcedony brown, as light falls on or passes through it. The frill from which the flower springs is Aventurino. The whole structure is 15 inches high, and rests on a broad, ribbed base of clouded Murano, upon which is a two-handled vase of lattimo; yet above a central flower surrounded by elaborated, worked circles and ribbons of colour finished by points, each jewelled. On the upper edge are leaves gilded, of cinque-cento work; and form this spring the Aventurino frill and Murano lily. The secret of the manufacture of pure Aventurino (some preparation of copper) has been orally transmitted in one family for centuries, and now belongs to a representative worker with Dr. Salviati at Venice.

"Our next link is a waxen impression of a pointed, oval seal found at Canterbury, of silver, 1 inch long, with legend, SIGILLVM SECRETI. The centre is a carnelian stone engraved with the "pot of lilies", and perhaps belonged to the Superior of the House of Nuns of the Holy Sepulchre, in former days one of the religious houses of the city.

"The next step back brings us to an ivory of great interest, a Saxon draughtsman, exhumed last year near Bunhill Row. It is circular, about 2 ins. in diameter, and within the rim bears, clearly cut through, the mystic Scandinavian dragon. The rim, in its breadth, has a circle of annulets. The ivory is earth-stained and perfect. In the Museum are some two or three draughtsmen in general appearance resembling that now laid on the table; but comparison brings out clearly the differences of thirteenth century design and this one of a much earlier period. Our Vice-President, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in whose collection is at least one other magnificent specimen, will, it is believed, at a future period make these ivories the subject of a paper.

"Then follows a very fine Roman mosaic of the *funambulus* discovered in Herculaneum. On a wall in the buried city are painted, in nine squares, nine portraits of the pantomimists of the Roman circus. Amongst them this rope-dancer, who, playing the *di-aula*, or *tibia dextra et sinistra*, dances to his own music. This large and beautiful work of art has been at some remoter period set in gold, probably for insertion in a cabinet-panel.

"Time is too brief to allow more than a glance at the subject of Roman sports. The people were passionately fond of circus performances. The performers came chiefly from the East, and their tricks were sufficiently degrading. We know it from the law prohibiting intercourse by Roman knights with circus performers, either private or public;

and a later period by the withering eloquence of Chrysostom. The nude performers wore a thick cap to prevent accidents in falls. The tail (as it appears in this mosaic) was probably a help for balancing. It appears in the middle of the back. Paris, a celebrated mime, flourished in the reign of Domitian.

"Lastly, of Murrhine and early Christian glass. I exhibit a shallow bowl of the former, a patina (from the Paris Exhibition) of the latter. First, four fragments of ancient Murrhine glass are laid before you. One from Ludgate Hill, the remainder from other sources. What the *murrhina* of Pliny really might have been, still is a matter of controversy. Writing of *murrhina*, he states its colours to have been purple, white (not *crystallinus*, but *candidus*), and a third, 'ex utroque, ignescente veluti per transitum coloris purpura aut rubescente lacteo.' On a subject of so wide difference we cannot decide. Porcelain, stained glass, flintspar, coated glass, all have been held to represent the meaning of the great naturalist.¹ This lovely and wonderful work of art is from Venice, and in many respects fulfils the original idea. This patera of green glass, with graffito in gold, is an exact copy of a Christian and Catacomb vessel in the Vatican collection. The thin, etched gold lies on the surface of a boss attached to the under part of the plate, and showing through its substance. As usual, the artist has portrayed Scriptural subjects; and the favourite emblem of the Resurrection (Jonah) is twice repeated, with a martyr holding two palms, the lion of the tribe of Judah, the ship and fish, surrounding the central Agnus Dei. Many of these graffiti were, doubtless, used for sacramental purposes; others for the table of daily life. The religion of the early Christians belonged not to the Lord's Day only."

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., exhibited a plate of the reverse side of Winwick Cross, not given by Mr. Allen in his recent paper on that relic; and a view of a Saxon cross at Bolton, co. Lanc. Mr. Cuming's paper on "Mermaids" was read by Mr. Brock in the absence of the author. It will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., desired to take the sense of the meeting with regard to the alleged disastrous character of the works now in progress at St. Alban's Cathedral; but Mr. Birch pointed out that it would be unfair to make any statements reflecting upon these works without giving the architect an opportunity of at least knowing what was likely to be said; and after a short discussion, the further consideration of the subject was adjourned to the next meeting.

This concluded the work of the session, which was aptly closed by a few happily chosen expressions from the Chairman.

¹ Perhaps the finest Venetian Schmeltz, like this ruby Schmeltz cup, may bear a resemblance to the ancient Murrhina.

Obituary.

DR. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE sudden death of Dr. Margoliouth, M.A., LL.D., Ph. D., Vicar of Little Linford, took place in London at five o'clock on Friday evening, February the 25th, 1881.

Dr. Margoliouth was born in 1820, of Jewish parents, embraced Christianity in 1838, studied at Trinity College, Dublin, and was admitted to holy orders in 1844. He was afterwards appointed successively curate of St. Augustine's, Liverpool, vicar of Glasnevin, and examining chaplain to the Bishop of Kildare (all in one year, by special episcopal favour); and later he was appointed assistant minister of St. Paul's, Haggerstone, and afterwards at St. Paul's, Onslow Square. Here he remained till 1877, when he was instituted to the vicarage of Little Linford, where, as everywhere, he gained the love and esteem of all who knew him. He spent all the energies of his life in promoting the spiritual welfare of his own people. He had especial access to the highly educated Jewish families. On his extensive travels, especially in the East, the leading idea of his life never left him. He was constantly endeavouring to spread the Gospel. He was a voluminous writer. Among his principal works may be mentioned "The Fundamental Principles of Modern Judaism Investigated" (the work of his undergraduate days), "The Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers", "Exposition of Isaiah LIII", "History of the Jews in Great Britain", "Essays on the Poetry of the Hebrew Pentateuch", and "A Series of Six Essays on the Lord's Prayer." A work entitled "Some Triumph and Trophies of the Light of the Lord and the World" was passing through the press when he died. The deceased was also editor of *The Hebrew Christian Witness*, a work of incalculable helpfulness in bringing the great truths of Christianity before the unconverted of his own race, which we hope one day will be revived. He was an accomplished scholar, a learned Orientalist, and an indefatigable worker and searcher of truth. His memory will long live in the hearts of many, and his works will be a source of information, and guide in religious truth, to earnest students of the Holy Scriptures.

The Church of England does not possess many Hebrew scholars. One of the most distinguished was the Rev. Mr. Margoliouth. Though of foreign Jewish extraction, besides being, perhaps, the very foremost of the Hebrew and Rabbinical scholars of the day, he possessed a

wonderful command of English, as will be admitted by the readers of his witty and learned clerical novel, "The Curates of Riversdale." The deceased writer was in earlier life a pupil of the late Dr. Alexander M'Caul, Rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge. The titles of his books fill many pages of the Catalogue of the British Museum Library. Many of them are of great general interest; others are connected with the Masonic art and mystery, of which the deceased was a staunch adherent. Dr. Margolionth was a genial, cheerful man, and he leaves a blank which cannot easily be filled.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Ancient Cyprus.—Major A. P. di Cesnola is just about to publish (through Messrs. Holmes and Son of Oxford Street) a photographic album containing upwards of sixty large plates of the principal objects of the Lawrence-Cesnola collection of antiquities derived from sites excavated by the Major, from 1876 to 1879, in the Island of Cyprus. The plates have been prepared by M. Claudet of Regent Street. The whole collection, amounting to about 14,000 specimens, has been pronounced by competent authorities to be of considerable archæological interest. It contains Phœnician, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman remains from Kitium, Larnaca, Timpou, Throni, Kourium, Idalium, Soli, Golgos, and, above all, from Salamina, the ancient Salamis, which yielded a large proportion of the recovered treasures. The relics comprised a vast variety of objects in gold, silver, and bronze, gems, precious stones, and terra-cotta. Among them may be mentioned earrings, rings, cylinders, necklaces, leaves of gold foil for head-attires and to cover the mouth and eyes of the dead; masks, swords, knives, coins, pins, *alabaster*, toys, urns of large size adorned with geometrical patterns, other urns of sepulchral use, finely modelled statuettes, portable hand-warmers, and numerous inscriptions of the highest value to the archæologist and historian.

We hope that some early opportunity of inspecting this collection of Cypriote antiquities will be afforded to the public. Many English antiquaries felt considerable disappointment at the removal of General L. di

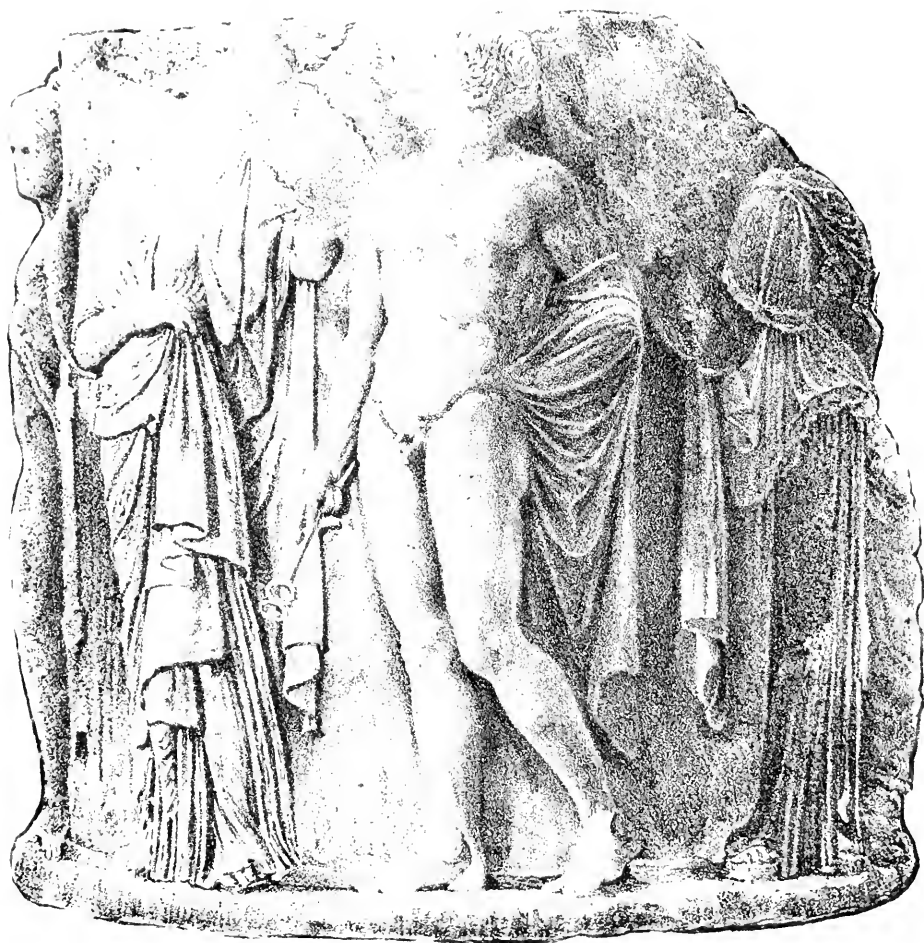
Cesnola's somewhat similar collection before they were able to examine the peculiar, and in many instances unique, types of ancient and classical art which it so richly represented.

Excavations at Ephesus.—The discovery, by Mr. J. T. Wood, of the site and remains of the celebrated Temple of Diana at Ephesus, in 1869; its exploration during five successive years, under his direction; and the deposit in the department of the British Museum which is under the charge of Professor Newton, of the valuable sculptures found in the course of the excavations, are facts now well known, and their interest highly appreciated. It is much less generally understood that the exploration had by no means extended to its desirable limits, and that the works were prematurely suspended for want of funds.

A trench was cut through the portico on the south side, and therein were found a beautiful fragment of the cornice of the Temple, some archaic fragments from an earlier temple, and numerous fragments of the columns and superstructure of the portico itself. Mr. Wood fully expects that if the excavations are extended as proposed, much of the superstructure of the Temple will be found, which must have been precipitated beyond the limits of the present excavations. There might also be discovered portions of the sculptured columns and other sculptures in the unexplored ground at the east end, by which the cost and labour would be amply repaid.

It is now decided to make application to those interested in art and archaeology for subscriptions towards the excavations; and a Committee of gentlemen has visited the site whilst the excavations were going on, and consented to exercise control over the application of the fund, and the undertaking generally. From the interest in the subject displayed hitherto by the Trustees of the British Museum as well as by members of the Government, their sympathetic co-operation may be confidently relied on. The sum required for the whole of the work, £5,000, would be spent in the course of two seasons: the first commencing as soon as possible this year, and terminating in May 1881; the second commencing in October 1881, and terminating in May 1882. That there may be little delay in commencing the works, the names of subscribers and amounts of subscriptions promised should be sent in to the Honorary Secretary, T. Hayter Lewis, Esq., 12 Kensington Gardens Square, W. It is proposed to circulate amongst the subscribers reports as to the progress of the excavations, and to obtain casts of the principal sculptures found in the proposed excavations, so that certain subscribers may obtain copies at merely the cost of casting.

Map of a Hundred Square Miles round Avebury, with a Key to the British and Roman Antiquities.—This work is the result of innumerable



rambles over the Downs of North Wilts. It is, perhaps, the most important publication, in connection with the archaeology of Wilts, which has been brought out since the appearance of the great work of Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The name of the author, the Rev. A. C. Smith, Rector of Yatesbury, is of itself a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy, and for the vast amount of information which it contains. Having been long resident in the county and in the neighbourhood of the district of which it treats, Mr. Smith has been a constant observer of every event connected with the archaeology of the district. He has noticed the disappearance of some of the barrows and other antiquities, and it was for the purpose of perpetuating a faithful record of every object of antiquarian interest existing therein, that the work was originally commenced. It has now reached such a state of perfection that Mr. Smith has kindly permitted its publication by the Marlborough College Natural History Society.

The Key to the great Map, the most important part of the work, forming a general "Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of North Wilts", will be a volume of large quarto size, and will contain the whole of the large Map. The letterpress will contain some account of the antiquities, with references to and extracts from the best authorities, as well as figures of various urns and other objects found in the barrows, views of the cromlechs, plans of the camps, etc. An Index Map, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, coloured, numbered, lettered, and divided like the great Map, will accompany the volume; the whole thus being a complete account of the antiquities of North Wilts, as the district delineated embraces nearly all the remains of earliest times which exist in the northern portion of the county.

The work of publication will be proceeded with as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers' names has been received. The cost of the large Map and Key complete will be one guinea.

Seals of Cambridge.—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope is about to publish a work on the seals and armorial insignia of the University and colleges of Cambridge. It will consist of twenty-five Parts, large quarto, illustrated with a large number of engravings of seals and chromolithographs of armorial bearings. Several of the seals will be published in this work for the first time.

Lambeth Palace and its Associations. By J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., Vicar of Detling, Kent. With an Introduction by the Archbishop of Canterbury.—This work will contain an antiquarian and historical retrospect of this official residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and personal sketches of its successive occupants. Besides a general survey of this old building, a detailed account will be given of its gate-

way, great hall, guardroom, Lollards' Tower, and chapel, with their objects of historical and artistic interest, the registers, charters, and court-rolls of the see, the missals and other illuminated works of mediæval art, the valuable collections of MSS. and early printed books, the unrivalled series of portraits of the Archbishops and other dignitaries of the English Church, the traces of religious persecution within its prisons, the history of centuries of Church life as witnessed in its chapel (now exquisitely restored), with particulars of the consecrations of many of England's bishops, and of those in whom the American and colonial episcopate was founded.

To this will be added a brief account of the other palaces or manor-houses belonging to the see,—Canterbury Palace, Aula de Lyminge, Addington Park, Saltwood Castle, the Palaces of Charing, Wingham, Wrotham, Maidstone, and Otford, Knole House, Ford Place; the manor-houses at Teynham, Bishopsbourne, Bekesbourne, in Mayfield and Tarring, Mortlake and Croydon. Of these, some literally teem with historic interest. Not one is without some personal incident. Each and all help to fill in the picture of "mediæval life among the old palaces", through which, with their dignities and their dangers, those lordly primates passed between the days of Augustine and Cranmer, of Ethelbert and Henry VIII.

The work will consist of one volume, and will contain a frontispiece, in colours, of the Palace Chapel as restored, and several other illustrations, in black and white, of various picturesque and interesting parts of the Palace. The price to subscribers will not exceed 15s., which will be raised as soon as the subscription list is closed. A very limited number of copies will be printed in 4to., on large hand-made paper, the price of which will be about one guinea per copy. Messrs. Blackwood and Sons, 37 Paternoster Row, London, are the publishers.

The Religious House of Pluscardyn, Convent of the Vale of St. Andrew, in Morayshire. By the Rev. S. R. MACPHAIL, A.M., Liverpool.—There is in preparation a history of the Religious House of Pluscardyn in Morayshire, from materials which have never hitherto been brought together. Several of the original and important documents have never been transcribed, and most of the charters and other historical writings pertaining to the Priory are scattered in various charter-chests and public and private antiquarian collections.

The history of this House is in reality the history of two religious foundations; the earlier, the Priory of Urquhart, originally a cell of the Abbey of Dunfermline, founded in 1125; the later, Pluscardyn, a Priory of the order of Vallis Caulium, and founded in 1320. The two were conjoined by Pope Nicolas V in 1454, when Urquhart was merged in Pluscardyn, which thereafter appears as a cell of the Abbey of

Dunfermline. The study of this Bull, as recently found among the charters of Pluscardyn, as well as in Theimer's *Vetera Monumenta*, has thrown a new light on this union. The traditional history has been carefully sought after, and much interesting lore which in a few years would have passed from memory has been rescued.

The work will be illustrated by drawings of various portions of the ruins. The seals of Pluscardyn and the Convent seals of the two other Houses of the same order in Scotland, Beaulieu and Ardehatten, will be introduced. Three views of the ruins have been reproduced from drawings. Two of these are from a volume of unpublished drawings by Nattes, kindly lent by D. Douglas, Esq., Edinburgh, for this work. A map of the Glen of Pluscarden has been made, showing the localities of estates and farms named in various Acts of Parliament at the Reformation period, and in documents among the muniments of Duff House, a seat of the Earl of Fife, the proprietor of the Priory. Five facsimiles of charters have been prepared, embracing charters of A.D. 1233, 1236, and 1237.

The edition will be limited to 550 copies; 500 of which will be on small 4to., and sold to subscribers at one guinea; and 50 on large 4to., Dutch hand-made paper. Price to subscribers, two guineas.

Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's. By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A. (E. Stock, Paternoster Row.)—Our Vice-President and well known ecclesiastical antiquary, Dr. Simpson, has produced a work upon the history of St. Paul's which no one who has any interest in the associations of the Cathedral of the metropolis should omit to read. The book is beautifully printed and bound, in the old style, by Mr. Elliot Stock, whose taste and discrimination in archæological publications have brought him prominently into notice as an enterprising publisher of works of this class. Of course, in an octavo of 300 pages no one could exhaust all that might be said about St. Paul's Cathedral. Even Sir Henry Ellis in his ponderous folio, which was produced at a great expense in the early part of this century, omitted many details which Dr. Simpson has gathered together into the volume before us. These *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's* seek to place before the reader striking scenes and important episodes in the history of the Cathedral rather than to give a continuous and detailed account of the building and its associations. The author's object has been to compile from old chronicles and from original documents not generally accessible whatever information will throw light upon the Cathedral's history and the ancient life and interest which circled round it during the centuries in which it was the centre of the religious and civil life of the metropolis, and to put the result into a popular and readable form for the use of those who are not in a position, or have not the time, to read larger works or consult original authorities for themselves.

The method of treatment is best indicated by the following extract from the author's preface: "For some time past my hours of leisure, which have been only too few and far between, have been devoted to researches in the history of the Cathedral of St. Paul. I have enjoyed for twenty years the great honour of being a member of the Cathedral body, and keeper of its records, and each succeeding year has but increased my love for the stately sanctuary and its solemn services, and augmented my interest in its venerable archives. In the present volume I have endeavoured to embody in a popular form some of the results of my studies, in the hope that many who are repelled by original documents expressed in mediæval Latin may read these desultory *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, and share with me in the absorbing interest which gathers round the subject.

"Where I could tell the story of St. Paul's in the words of some old chronicler, I have always preferred his quaint phrases to any sentences of my own. At the same time I have freely used the documents and other materials gathered together in my previous books upon the history of St. Paul's, and I have done so with the less hesitation because the first of these was privately printed, and the second was issued only to the members of a learned society."

The illustrations include a bird's-eye view of Old St. Paul's, showing the surrounding wall, gates, and neighbouring streets, compiled by F. Watkins from drawings by E. B. Ferrey, Esq., and a view of St. Paul's Cross as it appeared on Sunday, 26th of March 1620, being part of an original picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Among the subjects of Dr. Simpson's research are the early history of religion in London, comprising notices of the early bishops; the ritual and religious services of the Cathedral; walks around the exterior and interior of the building; Wyclif before his judges; the great fire of 1561, and its effects on the Cathedral, with a circumstantial account from a rare tract preserved in the British Museum; Paul's Cross, with the doings of Bishop Latimer and of Thomas Lever of Cambridge, Preacher to King Edward VI, who handled in his sermons there the covetousness of the times and the prevailing corruptions in high places; Paul's Walk; and the interregnum. Of the misfortunes which befel the Cathedral in the seventeenth century, Dr. Simpson writes: "Many another grand cathedral had the same sad tale to tell, the same wearisome story of pluralities and non-residence, of overwhelming greediness and self-seeking, of rampant nepotism, of desecrated naves and of deserted choirs, of dignitaries receiving great revenues and rendering no service in return, of cold hearts. The way was paved for still greater desecrations, and they came. Horses neighed in the canons' stalls, and Dr. Cornelius Burges, with his £20,000 of plunder, preached in the ruined choir."

The antiquarian notes with which the work concludes are not the least valuable feature it possesses. These Chapters on the History of our Cathedral will be lingered over with absorbing and deeply felt affection for the stately fabric which has supplied Dr. Simpson with not one but many themes, and with considerable gratitude to the author for the elegant and touching way in which he has performed his self-imposed labour of love.

Old Yorkshire. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, F.S.A.S.—Mr. Smith of Morley, near Leeds, has compiled a very useful and readable volume of gleanings from articles which originally appeared in *The Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement* during the last two years. The manners and customs, pursuits, sentiments, and general ways of life, of the inhabitants of the county of Yorkshire have been well illustrated by local contributors to that journal, and Mr. Smith in his selection evinces considerable discretion. The arrangement that has been adopted, viz., that of making sections, and placing them in alphabetical order,—antiquities, artists, authors, battles, bells, and so forth, is one that recommends itself in a book devoted to much miscellaneous information. The collection is thereby classified in a systematic way; and as none of the articles are long, as all are attractive, and most of them are not found elsewhere, Mr. Smith's venture is an indispensable pendant to the larger and more pretentious works on the antiquities of Yorkshire. We can confidently recommend the book to our readers, and heartily congratulate the editor on the result of his labour. It is sure to be a literary success, and will probably be rapidly taken up by the public, who will, like ourselves, look forward to the promised yearly record of *Old Yorkshire* with great interest. The editor is desirous of making the work a depository for matters of interest relating to the county, and hopes to find the successive volumes of *Old Yorkshire* taken advantage of by antiquaries and others to place on record any remains existing in their own locality, many of which, from want of being published, are lost to the world for ever.

Colchester Antiquities.—That the town of Colchester has long enjoyed a prominent place amongst lovers of antiquarian relics, and its Roman occupation from the earliest period, cannot be denied. It is only a few weeks since that an important discovery was made of the remains of a stone Roman altar. It is of the usual form and shape. Its size is 50 inches in height, and 23 inches in thickness. An inscription only occurs on one side; but that is fairly clear and good, and is 20 inches across, reading conjecturally, MATRIBVS . SVLEVIS . SIMILIS . ATTL . F . CL . CANT . V . L . S. Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., considers the *Sulevæ* as parents of the Sylphs of the woods, as the *Campestres* were of the

fields. They are not usually styled *Matres*, but, no doubt, were considered as such, and a triad. The *CL. CANT.* refers rather to the *Cantii* than the *Cantabri* of Spain. Had Similis been a foreigner he would probably have given the place of his birth more fully. Some doubt exists about a few of the letters which are conjoined, especially on the second and fourth lines. More careful attention and research will enable it to be correctly read. But the town and Museum must be congratulated on such a valuable acquisition to their treasures.

Roman Remains, South Shields.—Mr. R. Blair sends us the appended reading, expansion, and translation, of the inscription upon a Roman tombstone, about 2 feet square, found within the walls of the *castrum* last week: D. M. S. AV[GEN]DVS. VIXIT. ANNOS. V[III. MEN]SES. VIII. L. ARRVNTIVS. SALVIANVS. FILIO. B. M. PHSIMO. The letters in brackets are supplied as they are worn out of the stone. “Sacred to the divine shades. Augendus lived eight years, nine months. Lucius Arruntius Salvianus to his well deserving and most dutiful son.”

Mr. W. de Gray Birch’s *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, in which is incorporated a series of autotype photographs of the celebrated Guthlac Roll of twelfth century pictures, has just been issued. Only one hundred copies have been printed, for the subscription list, by Mr. J. Leach of Wisbech. A few may be had on application.

Discovery of ancient Graves in Orkney.—Mr. Black, of Glasgow, reports from Kirkwall, that Mr. James Firth, farmer, Wasdale, while ploughing lately in his field, came upon two ancient graves, one being especially worthy of notice. It consisted of six square stones which had evidently been put together for the purpose of forming a resting-place for the dead. The grave consisted of six slabs, including top and bottom and sides. The size of this stone cist, which is cemented with very fine clay, is 2 feet by 1 foot 6 inches, and 15 inches deep. When opened, the upper part was filled with very fine earth till within 2 or 3 inches from the bottom, which consisted of bones in the last stage of decay, crumbling on being touched, and also ashes of some sort. On the top of the slab that covered the grave were six flat stones of nearly the same size, which must have been placed there for security. The other grave was not enclosed in this manner, but was just a square hole dug in the earth, in which were bones, ashes, and some traces of hair.

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THE ETHNOLOGY OF WILTSHIRE AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE PLACE-NAMES.

BY J. PICTON, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read August 1880.*)

At the Congress of the British Archæological Association at Yarmouth and Norwich last year, I read a paper on "Place-Names in Norfolk", which has since been published in the *Journal*. The subject is full of interest both to the antiquary and the philologist. Each county has its own peculiarities as to the origin and application of its local nomenclature, and I propose in the following pages to inquire, as far as the brief space will permit, what light can be thrown by the study of the place-names in Wiltshire on the condition of the district, and the races by whom it has been successively occupied.

These inquiries have always been attractive; but down to a very recent period they have been pursued in a very empirical fashion, calculated rather to throw ridicule on the study than to lead to any satisfactory conclusions. Chronology, race, and language, have been set at nought, and the most astounding guesses have been indulged in to bring together from any source names and words between which there appeared any likeness however superficial. Thus the common Anglo-Saxon name of *Brimham* has been derived from Hebrew *Beth-Rimmon*, and the Saxon *Barrow* or *Bury* from Heb. *Barruo*, pit of lamentation. It is only in very recent years that the subject has

been taken up with any regard to the principles of systematic or scientific inquiry.

Camden published his *Remaines concerning Britaine* in 1614. Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* was issued in 1628. Both of these contain information of a very judicious character on English names. During the interval of more than two centuries, almost to the present day, little or nothing was added to our information; but more recently attention has been called to the subject by the publication of such works as Taylor's *Names and Places* (1864), Edmunds's *Traces of History in the Names of Places* (1869), Ferguson's *Teutonic Name-System* (1864), Joyce's *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (1869), besides the works of Mr. Lower and Miss Young on Christian and surnames indirectly bearing on the same subject. These works are of a general kind, and do not attempt to illustrate any particular district. There are also difficulties, to which I will presently allude, connected with the inquiry, which are hardly, if at all, noticed by the writers in question.

The names of places scattered over the surface of our country may be compared to the geological stratification of the same surface, one layer overlying another until we arrive at the primitive formation; and the prevalence of one or other of these gives its character to the name-system in the one case, as to the physical aspect in the other. Thus in Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, a large proportion of the place-names are derived from a Danish source; in Durham and Cumberland a Scandinavian element is found, but most probably of Norwegian origin; in Cornwall the main element is formed by the Celtic of the old Cornish stock; in Wales and the counties bordering thereon, of course the bases of the place-names may be expected to be Cymric; whilst in many, probably most, of the others the Celtic and Norse elements almost entirely disappear, and are replaced by nearly pure Anglo-Saxon. Amongst these latter Wiltshire stands conspicuous. Of course a large proportion of the place-names in every county are of comparatively modern origin, and present no difficulty. With these I do not propose to deal. My present subject is the names which are found in *Domesday Book*, or a century or two later.

If we take even a cursory glance at a map of the county, we find most of the names composed of a prefix and suffix, such as *Salis-bury*, *Winter-bourne*, *Brad-ford*, etc. Now these suffixes, which constitute the substance of the names, qualified by the prefix, are in the great majority of cases perfectly intelligible in modern English. *Ton*, *ford*, *burn* or *bourne*, *cot*, *ham* (home), *bridge*, *brook*, etc., are part and parcel of our daily speech. Many others, which are now somewhat obsolete, are easily explicable from the old forms of our language. Such are *holt*, *hurst*, *shaw*, *don*, *bury*, *worth*, etc. The qualifying portion of the name is the prefix. Many of these prefixes are pure Saxon, and easy to understand, such as *Nor-ton*, *Eas-ton*, *Sut-ton* (or *South-town*), taken from their relative position; some from the surroundings, such as *Hazle-bury*, *Alder-bury*, *Wood-borough*, *Hill-Marton*, *Mil-ton*; and others from various circumstances, to which I shall presently refer.

When every allowance is made for these, there remain a large number which cannot be thus resolved, and the question is, Where are we to look for the solution? Some of the writers on the subject—and there are not many who have entered upon it at all—make very short work of it. If there is any difficulty they have only to invent a personal name, and the thing is done. Thus *Chat-ham* and *Chat-moss* are supposed to be derived from a person bearing the name of *Chat*; *Frens-ham*, from one *Fren* or *Frene*. In other cases, circumstances of the most unlikely character are assumed, if the name happens to fit: thus *Keele* in Staffordshire, nearly in the centre of England, has been held to be so called from *keel*, a north country word for a barge or ship, with which the place could not have the slightest connection. *Partney* is said to be from *pera-tun-ey* (pear-town by the water). It is scarcely worth while to waste time in examining absurdities of this kind. Where we cannot discover a clear and definite meaning within our reach, the best mode of solving the enigma is to confess our ignorance, and seek for means of better information.

There cannot be much doubt that a large number of the prefixes in English place-names are of Celtic origin, most probably of the Cymric variety; but the language

from which they are derived has greatly changed in the course of ages, and is only very imperfectly represented by the modern Welsh. It is very unlikely, and would be contrary to all history, to suppose that when the Saxons conquered England by degrees, and effected the settlement of the country, they exterminated all the inhabitants. Such a circumstance has hardly happened in the history of the world. There was no break of continuity. The conquerors, in taking possession, would naturally adopt the native appellations, modifying them to suit their own purposes. This is precisely what the Romans had done before them. *Venta Belgarum* and *Sorbiodunum* are simply Cymric names with Latin suffixes. Nay, we may go further back than this. What took place both at the Roman and Saxon conquests would equally occur at the previous Celtic invasion. We are not to suppose that those we call the ancient Britons were the aboriginal inhabitants of this island. The Belgæ and Atrebates, who occupied the present Wiltshire and Hampshire, were immigrants of no long standing. Both Cæsar and Tacitus bear testimony to this. Cæsar says: "*Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum est. Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ, ex Belgis transierant.*"¹ Tacitus states: "*Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerunt indigenæ an advecti, parum compertum; in universum tamen estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est.*"²

M. Littré, the great French philologist, speaking of the Celtic invasion of western Europe, says, "*Parmi ces noms celtiques, il en est sans doute qui n'appartiennent pas à la langue des Celtes. Leur établissement dans la Gaule, si ancien à un point de vue, est moderne à un autre; ils y trouvèrent des populations d'un développement inférieur, et l'on peut croire qu'ils n'en expulsèrent ni tous les hommes, ni tous les noms.*"³

¹ *De Bell. Gall.*, lib. v. The interior of Britain is inhabited by native races, as it is handed down by tradition; the maritime parts by those who have passed over from Belgium for the sake of plunder or war.

² *Vit. Agricol.* Whether the people who first inhabited Britain were indigenous or immigrants is hard to ascertain; but it is generally believed that the Gauls occupied the nearest coasts.

³ "Amongst these Celtic names, without doubt, there are some which do not belong to the Celtic language. Their establishment in Gaul, so

Modern investigation has pretty clearly established the fact that long preceding the Celtic immigration the west of Europe was inhabited by a race of inferior development, probably of Euskarian or Esquimo affinity. The name of Britain, which is certainly not Celtic, has been traced to this source, and many names of places in Spain and the south of France bear testimony to the existence of a race which has long ages ago entirely passed away as a separate people.

Let us now endeavour to apply these principles to the antiquities and nomenclature of Wiltshire. No county in the kingdom is richer, if so abundant, in prehistoric remains. They are distributed over the surface, of all classes and periods, from the earliest rude attempts at habitations at Pen Pits, near Stourton, on the borders of Somerset, through the various descriptions of barrows, tumuli, ditches, and earthworks, up to the noble relics of Avebury and Silbury, and the magnificent structure of Stonehenge. The earliest pits and earthworks bear all the marks of an extremely rude and primitive people. That these people were conquered and driven westwards by the advancing Celtæ has every confirmation short of written records. Even at the present day the pits, the remains of primitive habitations, which are found in abundance in Wales, bear traditionally the name of "Cyttiau Gwyddelod", the huts of the wild men or savages. The description of the Fenni given to us by Tacitus exactly describes a people of this class, and the name *Fenni* may without much violence be applied to the occupants of the Pen Pits. He says: "*Fennis mira feritas, fæda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri, ossibus asperant.*"—"Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fenni, nor is there anything so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage, the skins of beasts their only clothing, and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron,

ancient from one point of view, is modern from another. They found there a population of an inferior development, and it may be believed that they neither exterminated all the people nor all the names."

they prefix a pointed bone." This is an exact description of all savages of the stone age, whose relics are continually found under tumuli of the earliest construction.

Now what I maintain is this, that taking all analogy and history for our guide, it is scarcely possible that there should not be some remains of the language of this primitive people embedded in the nomenclature of the country. This is a question which has attracted some notice, and future investigation may throw light upon it.

The names of the prominent features of a country, the hills, valleys, and rivers, are usually the most ancient. We find most of them in Wiltshire may be referred to a Cymric origin. There are no high hills demanding to be specially noticed in the nomenclature. Ingpen, near the junction of the three counties of Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, 1,011 feet high, is the most prominent. Its name in Cymric, "the head of the narrow valley", is sufficiently explanatory. Hack Pen Hill may also be traced to a Celtic source. *Combe*, Cym. *Cwm* (a hollow), is the suffix to many place-names,—Hall-combe, Hippens-combe, Stitch-combe, etc. Some of the rivers bear Cymric names,—the *Churn*, swift; the two *Avons*, flowing water; the *Frome*, fuming. Some are Anglo-Saxon, such as the *Bourne*, *Og-bourne*, *Ald-bourne*, *Flagham Brook*, *Swill-Brook*. There are others, of which the origin is at present insoluble, as *Key*, *Cole*, *Kenet* or *Chenete*, *Nadder*, *Stour*, the *Wiley*, probably from *gry*, water. There are some names unmistakably Celtic, such as *Pen*, *Penridge*, *Pengle-wood*, *Culne* (anciently *Cauna*), Cym. *Cawn*, reeds; *Huish* (Domesday *Hiri*), Cym. *Hwch*, swine; *Chiltern* (Domesday, *Cheltre*), Cym. *Cel-tre*, a place of refuge.

To the Celts, whether Cymry or Belgæ, succeeded the Romans, who have left their marks unmistakably on the surface of the land. That they conquered and colonised the district is certain; but they have not left behind them the magnificent works constructed in other quarters. There are no great *castra*, such as *Pevensey* in *Sussex*, *Richborough* in *Kent*, and *Burgh Castle* in *Suffolk*. The camps of *Vespasian* and *Constantius Chlorus* are merely earthen entrenchments. The Romans appear to have utilised the earthworks they found in the country, of which there were many, the land having been very popu-

lous before their arrival. The names they gave their stations were Cymric with Latin terminations,—*Corinium* (now Cirencester), probably from its circular form, *côr*; *Sorbiolunum*, Sarum or Salisbury (Saresbury), Cym. *siriaw-din*, the pleasant hill; *Durnoraria* (Dorchester), Cym. *Dur-norion*, the flowing water.

There were six Roman roads crossing the county:—1st. A road from Bath (Aquæ Solis), along the western side, to Cirencester (Corinium), forming part of the great Fosseway extending across the island from the English Channel to the German Ocean. 2nd. A road from Salisbury, westward, to Wells (*Ad Aquas*). 3rd. A road called Julian Street, running due east from Bath, passing the base of Silbury Hill, and continuing by Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), by what is called the Devil's Causeway, to the passage over the Thames at Staines. 4th. Two roads running eastward from Salisbury,—one north-east to Silchester, the other south-east to Winchester (Venta Belgarum), Cym. *Cuer-gwent*. 5th. A road south-west from Salisbury to Dorchester. 6th. Ermin Street, running from Cirencester, south-east, to Spinæ (Speen) and Silchester.

The Roman roads (*strata*) were called by the Saxons *streets* from the fact of their being paved, and thus they can usually be traced by the names of the towns on their lines. In Wiltshire several of the roads besides those mentioned have preserved the name of *street*, as Long Street, Short Street, Broad Street, High Street, etc. There are several *Strat-fords*, *Strat-ton*, and several *Stations*; but except the stations already mentioned, the Roman camps seem to have been mere earthworks. Old Sarum, which was, no doubt, occupied and strengthened by the Romans, was originally a British stronghold, as its formation indicates.

To the Romans, in their influence on the nomenclature, succeeded the Saxons. They arrived in Wiltshire about fifty years after the first landing in Kent, and founded the kingdom of the West Saxons by the victory of Cerdic A.D. 508. Under his successors, Cymric and Ceawlin, this kingdom was greatly extended. Wiltshire is honoured by having been the scene of the struggles of the great Alfred and of his final victory over the Danish invaders

at Edington. The Danes never obtained a settlement in Wiltshire. There is an almost utter absence of Danish names. The termination *by*, so very numerous in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and wherever the Danes obtained a permanent footing, is here altogether wanting. There are no *tofts*, *thorpes*, *nesses*, *thwaites*, *hoes*. The basis of the names is almost entirely Saxon. There is also another difference from the nomenclature of the eastern counties. When the Saxons first invaded England they came in tribes and families headed by their patriarchal leaders. Each tribe was called by their leader's name, with the termination *ing*, signifying family; and where they settled they gave their patriarchal name to the *mark* or central point round which they clustered, frequently adding the suffix *ton*, or town. Hence the prevalence of such names as Billinge, Billington, Wellington, Darlington, Allington, etc. Now, this class of names is not entirely wanting in Wiltshire; but it prevails only to a limited extent. The reason I apprehend is this, that during the time which had elapsed before they crossed country, and reached Wiltshire, the tribal organisation had been to a great extent lost.

One feature which would strike the invaders is the numerous earthworks which are scattered in such profusion over the surface of the country. These were very freely made use of, and occupied for purposes of defence. The Saxon term *burh* was applied generally to any earthen entrenchment. Many of these had been thrown up previously, either by the Britons or their predecessors; some had been constructed, or adopted and improved, by the Romans; some were, no doubt, formed by the Saxons themselves; but they were all included under the general term of *Bury*, of which the examples are very numerous as suffixes to the place-names. The prefixes are sometimes proper names, not always of a prehistoric character. *Malmes-bury* is said to take its name either from a British king, Malmutius, or the Scottish monk Maildulph, who founded the monastic community afterwards developed into the celebrated abbey. *Amesbury* is supposed, with considerable show of reason, to have been the headquarters of *Ambre* or *Ambrosius*, a British king, who displayed considerable gallantry in resisting the Saxon invaders. In *Domesday Book* it is called *Ambresberie*.

Wan-borough and Wans-dyke are, no doubt, connected with the traditions of the hero Woden or Odin, so celebrated in the Saxon and Norse legends. His name is connected with many localities in various parts of the kingdom, such as Wednesbury, Wednesfield, Wensley, etc.

The most frequent suffix in the place-names of Wiltshire is *ton*, indicating the thoroughly Saxon predominance in the county. *Ton* originally meant a simple enclosure, and in this sense it is still used dialectically in Scotland. It was then extended to a cluster of houses, and finally to a town in the modern sense. The Saxon towns usually stood at the intersection of cross-roads, or at the fork formed by the junction of three. The *tons* in Wiltshire are very numerous, with all sorts of prefixes, some Saxon, some Cymric, some of which the meaning is not obvious, some descriptive, others patronymics.

Ham is another Saxon suffix common in the county, though not so numerous as the *tons*. The Saxon *ham*, corresponding with Ger. *heim*, primarily meant the homestead, the cluster of buildings constituting the farm, and is the origin of the endearing associations connected with the English *home*. The prefixes are, of course, various. *Chippenham* (in *Domesday* Chepeham) indicates that it was a market or trade-mart. *Melksham* has been explained to mean the milk or dairy farm; but it is more likely to have been adopted from a personal name.

The number of streams which water the county sufficiently explain the frequency of the suffixes *bourne* and *ford*. There are several Winter-bournes, small streams dry in summer, but forming torrents by the winter rains. Swill Brook, the main source of the Thames, takes its name from the abundance of its waters. *Don*, which forms the termination of a few place-names, means an undulating surface; in modern English, *downs*. The suffix *cot*, in such names as Hilcot, Wilcot, Westcot, etc., scarcely needs any explanation. There are a few names terminating in *low*, such as *Winterslow*, *Chedglow*. This termination is very common in the northern Mercian counties, and signifies a tumulus or Saxon barrow usually thrown up on a low hill; but seeing that these *lows* are given in *Domesday* as *lei* or *ley*, it does not appear that the word was ever so applied in Wiltshire. *Lade*, an artificial watercourse, is found in Cricklade and Lechlade; the lat-

ter on the edge of Gloucestershire. *Worth*, in Anglo-Saxon, has several meanings, but is generally applied to a farm or land fronting a public way. The number of these in Wiltshire is small, Winkworth, Chelworth, Brinkworth, and one or two others. *Wick*, as a village, is common in some counties, but is very sparse in Wiltshire. Barwick, Wadswick, and Berwick, are almost the only instances.

There are many other Saxon terms used which are still quite familiar, such as Field, Mere, Hill, Head, Cliff, Ridge, Wood, Bridge, Brook, Edge, Well; and others equally good English, but now somewhat obsolete; as Stead, still preserved in home-stead; Holt, a wood; Shaw, a grove; Stock, a wooden structure; Hurst, another term for a wood; Cock, a diminutive, little.

There are a few place-names which are somewhat Danish in their aspect, such as *Neston*, *Costoe*, *Keynes*; but these are not in *Domesday*, and are of comparatively modern introduction. Near Cricklade there is a stream called Dance or Danes' Brook, and a locality near is called Godby Stalls. These may possibly have some traditional connection with the irruptions of the Danes. The termination *ey* is attached to many names. It might have been the Danish *ey* for island, or the Saxon *ea*, water; but scarcely any of them are found in *Domesday*, and are not of very ancient date.

The Norman conquest effected little in the introduction of new place-names; but it added further suffixes, in many cases derived from the Norman lords of the soil, such as Wootton Basset, Compton Basset, Shipton Moyne, Easton Grey, Yatton Meynell, Compton Chamberlain, Upton Scudamore. Devizes is supposed to have derived its name, *Derisæ*, from a supposed division of the manor between the Crown and the Bishop of Salisbury; but history does not bear out this statement. The first charter was granted by the Empress Matilda about 1136, under the name of "De Divisis", at a time when certainly no division had or could have taken place. It is called in ancient records, "Divisis", "Divisæ", "De Vies". Leland calls it "The Vies". The true solution appears to be the fact that the Castle was built at the exact point of division between the three manors of Rowde, Cammings, and Pottern: hence the appellations, "Castrum de Divisis", or "Ad Divisas", or simply "Divisæ".

APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS.

BY E. M. THOMPSON, F.S.A.

(Read April 20, 1881.)

THE two following apocryphal pieces in Latin are found in a MS. in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg of Virginia Water, who kindly allowed me to take a copy of them. The MS. contains a collection of sermons for various occasions, with other miscellaneous tracts, written in Italy early in the fourteenth century. The portion of the volume which contains the apocryphal pieces is written in a different hand, and may once have formed part of another MS. of the same size. It is, in fact, only an imperfect fragment, beginning with the concluding passages of the Gospel of Nicodemus, the rest of which, along with at least one, if not more apocryphal pieces, has been lost.

The first piece here printed is a combination of two legends, the first being part of the history of the origin of the Holy Rood, the details of which are also to be found in other places; the second, a curious story of Judas Iscariot, which appears in an English dress in the long Northumbrian poem, the *Cursor Mundi*.¹ The history of the Cross serves as an introduction to the legend of Judas, as the thirty silver rings which King David fastened round the tree from which the Holy Rood was made, for the purpose of marking its growth through thirty successive years, were, in fact, the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed our Lord. The Greek origin of the story is referred to in the text. The ridiculous episode of the cock springing again into life from the boiling caldron is paralleled by a like miracle in the life of St. Dominick of the Causeway, where we have a pair of cooked fowls standing up in the dish to crow.²

The other Latin piece narrates the miraculous cure of the Emperor Tiberius at the sight of St. Veronica's portrait of

¹ Early English Text Society, vol. 62, ll. 15,961 sqq.

² See "The Vision of Thurkill" in this *Journal*, vol. xxxi, 1875, p. 431.

Our Lord. The story was first printed by P. F. Foggini in his work, *De Romano Dicit Petri itinere et episcopatu* (Florentiae, 1741), pp. 38-46, from a MS. in St. Mark's monastery at Florence; and again by J. D. Mansi in his edition of the works of Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii Tutelen-sis Miscellanea, op. et stud. J. D. Mansi, Archiep. Lucensis* (Lucæ, 1764), Appendix. pp. 55-57, from a MS. ascribed to the end of the eighth century. The title which Mansi gives to it is *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii Caesaris Augusti et damnatio Pilati*. Thilo¹ found another copy in a MS. at Halle, and refers to others in the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Nos. 2034 and 5559. I have also found others in two MSS. of the British Museum, viz., Additional MS. 22,349, f. 181b, of the latter part of the thirteenth century; and Harleian MS. 232, f. 13b, of the first half of the fourteenth century.

It is to be remarked that in all the MSS. which have been sufficiently described for us to know their general contents, the story is found in connection with the Gospel of Nicodemus, as is the case with the text before us. Indeed, in the Additional MS. 22,349, referred to above, the scribe has treated it as actually part and parcel of the apocryphal Gospel, by placing at the end of it the colophon: "Explicit Hystoria Nichodemi."

The text printed by Foggini and Mansi, and contained in the MSS. which have been just enumerated, differs both in its opening and conclusion from that which I now present. The differences in the introductory passages do not count for anything; but those at the end are very material. Foggini's and Mansi's text tells the story of Tiberius's conversion and what follows in quite another way from ours. It ends with a story of Simon Magus setting himself up as Christ in the days of Nero and being convicted by the Apostles Peter and Paul—an independent fable which has nothing to do with that of the cure of Tiberius. Our story ends in a more simple and perfect manner, and no doubt represents an older form.

Those who cannot easily obtain access to Foggini's and Mansi's works may follow the general line of their text in the English version which I have here appended. It is found in the Harleian MS. 149, written in the middle of

¹ *Codex Apocryphus N. Testamenti*; Lipsiæ, 1832, p. cxxxvii.

the fifteenth century. But I should add that this English translation is somewhat embellished. For instance, Veronica here cheerfully consents at once to produce her portrait of Our Lord, whereas in the Latin text pressure has to be used. The narrative of the contest of Peter and Paul against Simon Magus and the tragic death of the latter is also found in the work attributed to Hegesippus.¹

A distinct version of the story of the cure of Tiberius has been printed by Tischendorf,² under the title of *Vindicta Salvatoris*,³ an Anglo-Saxon version of which was edited by C. W. Goodwin for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1851. Comparing his version with that of Foggini and Mansi, Tischendorf arrives at the conclusion that the *Vindicta Salvatoris* is the older one. However this may be, it is interesting to know that Marianus Scotus, in his chronicle of the middle of the eleventh century, gives an outline of the legend⁴ and quotes as his authority a writer named Methodius. The identity of Methodius has not been established; but he may have been the Bishop of Tyre of that name at the end of the third century.

I have printed the Latin pieces with all the grammatical faults of the MS.; for the sense is clear enough without emending them, and there is a certain local colouring about the errors which is worth preserving. The MS. was very probably the pocket-companion of some itinerant priest, who was not so anxious for a pure text as for a good story to fix the attention of his audience.

HIC NARRATUR DE ARBORE CRUCIS DOMINI.

Narrat quedam ystoria grecorum quia Moyses, famulus Domini, dum moraretur in heremo cum populo Israel quem eduxerat de terra Egypti, cum eis Dominus revelare est dignatus, quod aeternus⁵ esset in

¹ *De bello Judaico et urbis Hierosolymitanæ excidio*, ed. Colon., 1559, p. 292. See also the *Liber Festivalis* printed by Caxton, under the day of SS. Peter and Paul.

² *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. altera, Lipsiae, 1876, proleg. lxxxii.

³ Dr. Ginsburg's MS. also once contained a "*Vindicta Salvatoris*", which was probably the same as this one, as appears by a marginal reference on one of the leaves.

⁴ See Marianus in *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, ed. B. G. Struvius, Ratish., 1726, vol. i, p. 550.

⁵ For "aeternus".

carne in hoc mundo, et qualiter conversari deberet cum hominibus in terra, et quomodo crucifigi deberet pro salute hominum. Quadam vero nocte ei pervisum est ex qua arbore fieri oportet crucem Domini, viditque preterea tres virgulas valde pulcherrimas ante se positas. Cumque a sompno surrexisset, ita ante se illas invenit, sicut in visione viderat. Unde precepit fili[s] Aaron, ut tollerent eas et ponerent in tabernaculo Dei, quando intrarent terram repromissionis, et ibi plantarent eas. Mirabiliter enim oriri cepit arbor illa de qua facta est crux Domini adoranda. Mirabiliter itaque apparuit Symoni¹ famulo Dei per tres continuas noctes; atque mirabiliter in terra stetit usque ad tempus David, regis Israel, nichil decrescens neque viriditatem foliorum perdens: sed sic permansit per omnia, sicut Moysi primo apparuit, donec David sanctus meruit illam de loco illo transferre et in viridario suo reponere. Ibi enim erat ita decrescens, ut infra triginta annos efficeretur arbor grandis. Hic, inter omnes arbores, arbor illa nobilis ex illis tribus extitit virgulis, quas Dei amicus Moyses, a sompno excitatus, circa se repperit exortas per tres continuas noctes, quas Deo dilectus rex David detulit in Ierusalem; ibique in viridario suo collocatas per triginta annos coluit, et omni anno in illarum summitate unum circulum argenteum inexit, et reliquos inferius inexit dilatavit, ut arbor illa dilataretur in grassitudine et extenderetur in longitudine. Illuc siquidem virgulte, continuum habentes viriditatem, in unam simul concreverunt arborem. Quem scilicet arbor, mire suavitatis habens odorem, estate et yeme inmarcessibiles frondium protulit et flores.

Peracto siquidem tempore prefinito, eandem laudabilis arbor, plus omnibus aliis arboribus sublimior, iussu regis Salomonis succisa est. Dum in edificio Domini templi nullomodo valuisset coequari ab artificibus, derelicta est. In crucifixione tamen corporis Christi digna fuit coaptari, in qua vita multorum pependit, in qua etiam Christus triumphavit, et mors mortem superavit. Nam et triginta argenteos in templo Domini suspensos inane acceperunt Iudei et tradiderunt infelici Iude pro tradicionem Domini Iesu Christi, ut adimpleretur scriptura que scripta est in Çacharia propheta dicens: "Apprehenderunt mercedem meam triginta argenteos. Appreciatus sum ab eis."² Et in passione Domini secundum Marchum de eodem infelici Iuda ita scriptum est, quod iret ad principes sacerdotum et ab eis inquireret precium pro tradicionem Domini Salvatoris, ita inquens: "Quid vultis mihi dare et ego vobis eum tradam?"³ At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos, illos videlicet predictos triginta circulos, qui in templo dependebant cotidie, quo committere ab omnibus possidebantur.

Tunc infelix Judax,⁴ acceptis triginta argenteis pro venditione Domini Salvatoris, et vendito illum Iudeis, statim rediit ad domum suam et retulit universa matri sue, omnia per ordinem, quomodo tradidisset Dominum Iesum Christum suum per pacis osculum. Audiens hec mater eius, quod a filio suo traditus esset Dominus Iesus Christus,

¹ For "Moysi".

² "Appenderunt", etc., Zach. xi, 12, 13.

³ Matt. xxvi, 15.

⁴ A title for this portion of the tale is added in another hand at the top of the page: "Ille narratur de Iuda et de gallo canente illa nocte quando Petrus negavit Dominum."

in furore conversa est et in lacrimis resoluta, ita inquam: "Heu me misera, que talem filium genui. Quid tibi et insto illi? Quare, infelix, instum et sanctum tradere non timuisti? Nunc ergo, fili amarissime, absque ulla dubitatione omnes ille maledicciones implebuntur in te, que propheta David—ita scriptum est, 'Fiat habitatio eius deserta, et ne sit qui inhabitet in ea. Fiant dies eius pauci, et episcopatum eius accipiet alter,'¹ et cetera que secuntur. Non enim, ut tu estimas, filium hominis trad[id]isti, sed filium Dei, et, ut propheta dicit, exquireretur a te sanguinis ipsius, et tu mortis eius reus eris. Vere enim ipse de se ipso dixit: 'Filius quidem hominis venit,'² sed ve homini illi per quem tradetur. Bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille."³ Nunc ergo, fili doloris mei, quid dicturus aut aucturus⁴ eris, dum videris prophetam veritatis a mortuis resurgere?"

Ad hanc igitur lacrimose matris vocem in iracundiam provocatus, Iudas respexit ad ignem, viditque super eum stantem ollam ferventem, et in ea semicoctum iacentem gallum; clamavitque ad matrem suam, dicens: "Quomodo in tantum errorem devenisti, ut illum amentem dicas prophetam fuisse, atque a mortuis aliquando resurrecturum esse? Ego autem per maximum affirmo iuramentum, quia de ista olla facilius poterit hic depilatus gallus exire quam resurgere a mortuis ille seductor."

Hec dum infelix Iudas ganniret, semicoctus gallus effectus est redivivus, et protinus de ferventi olla exiliens apparuit pulcherrimus, pennisque et plumis restitutus volavit supra tectum domus, in quo diu permansit ovens et cantans, quasi primus videatur nuntiare resurrectionem Christi. Affirmat namque ediceio grecorum hunc eundem extitisse gallum qui, eandem noctem qua Dominus traditus est, in canendo Petrum arguit negantem, super quem etiam et Dominus respexit lacrimantem. Hoc autem signo infelix Iudas, dum vidisset, valde perterritus est; habuit ad locum ubi Christus tenebatur a Iudeis, vidensque illum adiudicatum esse morti, proiecit in templo triginta argenteos, quos acceperat a principibus sacerdotum, unde prius fuerant abstracti a Iudeis, et habiens laqueo se suspendit.

Sicque inter celum et terram periit, quia magistrum suum et Deum tradidit in mortem, immo Dei filium et Salvatorem omnium seculorum.

Hec autem omnia, dilectissimi fratres, sicut audivimus a viris fidelibus, litteris commendavimus, non tantum ad utilitatem legentium, quantum ad monumentum audientium. Si ergo alicui ista videtur incredibile, credat Deo omnia esse possibilia, de quo scriptum est: "Omnia quecumque voluit Dominus fecit in celo et in terra, in mari et in abyssis."⁵ Nunc igitur, fratres karissimi, ista lectio ita sit penitus terminata, ut ad legendum nequaquam sit fastidiosa nec ad audiendum nimis ingrata. Adhuc tamen valde est utile ac salubre ad audiendum nimis et proficuum, et ut nos clamemus ad Dominum cum magna instantia atque diligencia in voce humillima, ut per signum sancte crucis dignetur nos a cunctis iniquitatibus liberare, et in bonis actibus iugiter conservare dignetur. Quod nobis patriare dignetur Iesus Christus, Dominus noster, cui est, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, honor et gloria, virtus et magnificentia, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

¹ Ps. lxxviii, 26.

³ Matt. xxvi, 24; Marc. xiv, 21; Luc. xxii, 22.

⁴ For "aucturus".

² For "vadit".

⁵ Ps. exxxiv, 6.

[CURA SANITATIS TIBERII CÆSARIS AUGUSTI.]

Tempore illo quo passus est Dominus Iesus Christus, celatus est Tiberio Cæsari, qui nihil adhuc de Christi passione ac resurrectione vel eius ascensione audierat. Cuique iam per omnem locum divulgatum fuisset quod Christus veraciter a mortuis resurrexisset et, videntibus cunctis discipulis suis, ad celos ascendisset, et post quadraginta dies Spiritum Sanctum acceperant discipuli eius, et locuti fuissent omnium linguas, atque per universum mundum missi fuissent, predicare et baptizare omnes gentes credentes in eum, sed et de ceteris mirabilibus que fecerat ante mortem suam, et quod a plurimis crederetur esse Deus, postquam surrexit a mortuis, Tiberius Cæsar perfecte non credebat narrantibus sibi, donec Pontius Pilatus Roman misisset epistolam ad ipsum, qui eum certissimum faceret de his omnibus que audierat.

Inciderat enim in gravissimam egritudinem Tiberius Cæsar, in passione videlicet quam Greci syringium vocant, et cotidie deterior se habebat. Denique direxerat nuncios per diversas partes regni sui ad iudices et prefectos locorum, ut diligenter inquirerent aliquem eruditissimum virum in artis medicine experientissimum, qui eum posset curare de infirmitate quam patiebatur, et eum ingenti honore ac velocitate ad eum perducerent; quia magno dolore urgebatur in secretiori parte narium, et putredo maxima exinde emanabat, et concussio[ne] viscerum graviter cruciebatur. Tunc Tiberius Cæsar, summis medicaminibus et unguentis agens, nihil cure sanitatis seneiebat effectum. Et, dum nihil ei proficeret ulla medicamina, iussit ad se perducī Velosianum, illustrissimum virum, qui erat princeps sacerdotum ydolorum. Qui cum venisset ante eum, dicit ei Tiberius Cæsar: "Adiuro te per deos deasque nostros, fungere legationem nostram et reipublice, et vade que[re]re mihi aliquem hominem qui mihi tribuat sanitatem, quia valde urgeor doloribus intrinsecis et omnia viscera mea funditus vulnerata sentio; qui dum feceris omnia que tibi precepta sunt, quæcumque desiderat anima tua tuo iudicio adimplebitur. Festina ergo nunc et perge in partibus Ierosolimarum quia nuntiatum est mihi quendam hominem nomine Iesus Christus, cognomento Christus, quem etiam multi dicunt mortuos suscitare, cecos illuminare, leprosos mundare, atque multa mirabilia gentis sue solo verbo parare." Tunc inclinatus Volusianus adoravit Cæsarem dicens: "Optima est intencio domini nostri piissimi Cæsaris." Respondit Tiberius Cæsar: "Ecce presentem habeo hominem qui mihi dixit omnia quia Deum esse plurimi profitentur. Unde vere ego dico quia, si Deus est, salvare nos potest, si vero homo tantum, iuvare et parare nobis sanitatem valet et gubernare rempublicam. Tu ergo perge festinus quanto[rum]cunque." Tunc Volusianus, pergens in domum suam, testamentum fecit secundum veterem ordinationem; assumptisque secum milites quingentos electos, navem ascendit.

Interea Tiberius Cæsar magno urgebatur dolore insecrecionis nature usque ad mortem. Igitur Volusianus, pergens Ierosolimam, introivit in ea post annum unum et mensibus quatuor, propter maris tempestatem. Qui cum introisset in civitatem cum suis militibus, ceperunt

omnes maiores natu Judeorum turbari, et pergentes ad Pilatum dixerunt quod vir a parte superiori advenisset. Tunc Pilatus occurrit Volusiano cum militibus et centurionibus suis. Et, introeunte Volusiano in pretorio, Pilatus cum magna sollicitudine dixit ei: "Quare nos non meruimus scire itineri vestro et servitiis ostendere virtutibus Romanorum?" Respondit ei Volusianus: "Nos enim non in commotione militum directi sumus a piissimo Cesare, aut pro urbiumurbatione, aut pro tributa reddenda, sed tantum modo per medelam domini nostri piissimi Cesaris qui rempublicam tenet, sed magis ut subveniatur ei de morbo quo tenetur in secretiori parte corporis suis, qui penitus nec incantationibus nec medicamentis phisicorum potuit aliquando adiuvari. Ista enim sollicitudo nos promovit, et per eius iussionem nos huc venimus. Audivimus namque quendam hominem esse in has partes, nomine Iesus, quem audivimus a Cesare quod sine medicamentis aut herbarum potionum potest medelam parare, et, sicut relatio eiusdem notificavit, solo verbo et morborum inquinamento curat, mortuos etiam suscitare dicitur." Quibus auditis, Pilatus vehementer contristatus ingemuit dicens: "Homo ille cuius relatio ad Cesarem producta est, etiam Deum et Dei filium esse demones confitentes declarabant. Nam queramus hic aliquem de discipulis eius, per quem possitis eum agnoscere." Respondit unus ex militibus Pilati, nomine Promunctio, dixit ad Pilatum: "Ego puto quia illum prudentissimum virum Cesar videre desiderat, quem crucifigi permisit tua magnificentia." Confusus itaque est Pilatus ad relatum militis sui; nichil potuit respondere.

Tunc Volusianus conversus ad Pilatum dixit ei: "Talem hominem quem Deum esse vulgus omnis affirmat, quomodo ausui fuisti eum mortem dampnari, et sine precepto piissimi domini nostri Cesaris crucifigi?" Dicit ei Pilatus: "Iudeorum vocibus pati non poteram, quia regem se dicebat esse et filium Dei." Respondens miles ille qui primus locutus fuerat, dixit ad Volusianum: "Non perturbetur amplitudo vestra, enim illum resurgere a mortuis post tertiam diem nos ipsi vidimus, et multi ex nobis similiter viderunt eum vivum et Ioseph qui eum sepelivit."

Statim eadem hora iussit Volusianus perducere ad se Ioseph cum magno honore, quem interrogans dixit ei: "Tu solus sapiens es in hac urbe et honorabilis esse cognosceris ab omnibus. Dic nobis in veritate de Iesu approbatum in gente vestra, si propheta aut si Deus fuit, quem demones confitebantur, et si vere surrexit a mortuis; quia a te solum testimonium accipiemus declaratum." Respondit Ioseph et dixit ei: "Vere ego eum sepelivi et posui eum in monumento meo novo; et postea vidi eum in Galilea vivum, postquam surrexit a mortuis, et sedentem in monte Oliveti, atque docentem discipulos suos." Dicit ei Volusianus: "Sicut relatione cuiusdam didici, solo suo verbo omnium morborum inquinamentis curabat, mortuos etiam suscitabat."

Quibus auditis Pilatus contristatus est valde, et ingemiscens misit per totam Ierosolimam ad perquirendum aliquem ex discipulis Iesu, ut per eum agnosceretur. Et dum frequens fieret inquisicio et nullus fuisset inventus de discipulis, venerunt ad Volusianum homines numero novem et Ioseph simul cum eis qui dixerunt: "Nos eum vidimus ascendentem in celum." Quorum nomina hec sunt: Indas, Didimus, Ysaac, Anathus, Egeas, Asfus, Fincees, Elisur, et Levi doctor.

Tunc Volusianus vehementer indignatus, sua auctoritate et suo nomine recludi iussit Pilatum in carcerem. Recluso itaque Pilato intra eustodiam, Volusianus, audito multa mirabilia de Christo et a multorum declaratum testimonium, cepit conqueri ac dicere: "Si ergo Deus fuit ille Iesus, parare vitam nobis potest; si autem tantummodo homo fuit, gubernare rempublicam potuit." Et iussit militibus suis ut omnem progeniem Pilati recluderent in carcerem, et in conspectum militum suorum adduci fecit Pilatum catenis vinctum. Cui cum lacrimis agebat Volusianus dicens: "Inimice reipublice, quare non retulisti domino nostro Cesari, et Iesum iustum crucifigi permisisti quem omnes dicunt Deum fuisse?" Respondit Pilatus et dixit: "Non tantum sollicitus fui sanguini eius quantum plus ego dimittere eum cogitabam, videndo invidiam esse principum sacerdotum et phariseorum atque scribarum. Nam dicebant mihi quod inimicus esse Cesari, si eum dimissem; et non solum hoc, sed etiam instabant vocibus magnis ut crucifigeretur. Non solum sacerdotes et scribe eorum, verum etiam plebs universa Iudeorum, hoc postulabant ut illum crucifigerem." Dicit ei Volusianus; "Tu ergo quomodo potentiam tuam in eo ostendisti, dum vidisti invidiam esse gentis eius et non annunciasti domino nostro Cesari?" Respondens unus ex discipulis Iesu, nomine Symon, dixit: "Tu, Pilate, dicebas ei in concilio tuo, dum flagellis castigantem eum affligens, 'Potestatem habeo dimittendi te et crucifigendi te.' " Respondit Pilatus: "Iudeorum insidias pertimui, et ideo tradidi eum voluntatibus eorum ad crucifigendum. Denique, ut presenciam omnium Iudeorum innocentem me esse ostenderem, lavi manus meas coram omnibus dicens, 'Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius viri, videritis.' Et responderunt omnes dicentes, 'Sanguis eius super nos sit et super filios nostros.' " Tunc Volusianus cum gemitu cepit excuare [exclamare ?] dicens: "Tu tamen cum desiderio eum dimittere debuisti."

Et exinde cepit Volusianus cum magno desiderio querere, ut per aliquam similitudinem eum agnosceret. Et ecce quidam miles, Orchius nomine, quasi delator venit ad Volusianum et dixit ei: "Ante hos annos quam crucifigeretur Iesus, quandam mulierem curavit ipse a fluxu sanguinis. Quam, ut multi dicunt, quadam die ipse Iesus fatigatus ex itinere venit ad eam cum discipulis suis et petiit ab ea unum lintheum, ut absturgetur sibi sudorem de facie sua. Quo accepto, dum in faciem sibi apposuisset lintheum illud, totam figuram vultus sui in eo depinxit, deditque eum illi mulieri et precepit ei ut diligenter illud custodiret; que vere eum habere scitur." Dixit ei Volusianus: "Indica mihi nomen mulieris." At ille ait: "Veronissa dicitur." Tunc precepit Volusianus Pilato ut inberet adduci mulierem; erat enim tunc temporis apud Tirum. Cumque presentata fuisset, dicit ei Volusianus: "Magnam prudentiam et speciositatem in te esse videmus. Audi ergo nos et accipe consilium nostrum, et declarare nobis digneris ymaginem Iesu viri magni qui tibi sanitatem condonavit." Negavit itaque mulier, et nequaquam se habere illam dixit. Tunc quasi derisui estimans se Volusianus haberi iussit coartari mulierem ut ei ymaginem ostenderet. At illa afflicta divulgavit eam. Qui missis multitudine militum invenerunt¹ eam in domo illius in cervicale absconditam. Et ablata est ex [ea] ymago Domini ante Volusianum.

¹ *I. e.*, "Qui misit multitudinem militum et invenerunt."

Miratus itaque Volusianus in figuram Domini nostri Iesu Christi adoravit eam et dixit: "Beati qui te ambulantes per mundum viderunt et crediderunt in te, Domine Iesu Christe."

Tunc Volusianus dixit ad Pilatum et habitantibus Ierosolimam: "Vere mala et dignam habebitis remunerationem a domino nostro Cesare, qui curantes vos morti tradidistis." Ordinatis itaque militum numero sexcentos et armatas naves, assumpto etiam Pilato secum et mulierem cum ymagine Domini, iterum navem ascendit. Post menses vero novem introivit Romam cum Pilato et cum omnibus suis.

Eadem hora nuntiatum est Tiberio Cesari. Volusianus autem statim ut introivit ad Cesarem adoravit eum pronus in terra, et narravit ei omnia que acta sunt Ierosolimis de Christo et quomodo tempestatem maris facientem tardasset. Dicit ei Tiberius Cesar: "Quare non interfectus est Pilatus?" Respondit Volusianus dicens: "Quia pietatem vestram timui hoc facere; tamen ego vinctum illum huc perduximus." Tunc Tiberius Cesar, furore commotus super eum, noluit faciem Pilati videre, sed dedit in eum sententiam dicens: "Abscidite supercilia oculorum eius, et omni tempore vite sue igne et aqua non fruatur, nec igni coctum aliquid comedat." Statimque iussit deportari eum in exilium in civitatem Tuscie, que vocatur Ameria; ibique permansit usque ad annum primum Gaii imperatoris, qui post Tiberium successit in imperium. Nam et ipse Gaius tanta mala ei interrogavit, ut ipse Pilatus propria manu gladio se perimeret.

Volusianus autem dixit ad Tiberium Cesarem: "Cognoscat dominus noster piissimus Cesar quomodo mulier curata est ab Iesu, et per amoris studium ymaginem pictam habens in similitudinem ipsius hominis. Hic enim pro salute domini nostri Cesaris detuli, et mulier cum omnibus rebus suis que secuta est ymaginem Iesu cum magna ambicione." Hoc audito, Tiberius Cesar statim iussit sibi presentari mulierem cum ymagine Domini. Cumque venisset ante eum, dixit ei: "Vere quia tu meruisti tangere fimbria vestimenti Iesu viri magni, qui tibi sanitatem tribuit, sicut narratum est nobis." Videns autem Tiberius Cesar ymaginem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, statim adoravit eam dicens: "Credo in te, Domine Iesu, quia, sicut nobis nuntiatum est, quod solo verbo omnem langorem salvasti, etiam mortuos suscitasti; ita namque credo quod et me ymago figure tue salvare potest, ut ego ex toto corde meo credam in te et cognoscam vera esse omnia que audivimus de te." Hec eo dicente, statim sanus factus est a plaga siringii. Dum ergo vidisset se esse sanum per ymaginem Domini, precepit eam locupletari divitiis et facultatibus etiam mulierem Veronissam, que prius Bassilla dicta est. Item autem iussit Tiberius ymaginem Domini auro includi cum lapidibus preciosis.

Et dum interrogaret Tiberius Cesar Volusianum que esset preceptio Christi, respondit ei dicens: "Sicut a discipulis eius cognovi, domine, nichil aliud nisi baptizetur unusquisque nostrum in aqua sub trina mersione et credat ipsum esse verum Deum qui regnat in celo." Tunc Tiberius Cesar iussit venire mulierem ante conspectum suum, et didicit ab ea qualiter sacramentum baptismi perciperet. Et, invento quendam Christianum, precepit fontem aqua repleri, et baptizatus est Tiberius Cesar cum Volusiano, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Eadem hora expandit manus suas Tiberius Cesar ad Dominum, dicens: "Gratias tibi ego, Domine Iesu Christe, Salvator mundi, quia,

sicut nuntiatum est mihi de virtutibus tuis, ita didici per ymaginem tuam, cognoscendo omnia vera esse que a te facta sunt, desiderium habens totum mundum peragraré te videndi, sed dignus non fui. Laudo ergo te, Domine Iesu, rex altissime, creator et salvator meus, qui me indignum servum tuum non separasti a gratia tua, et me videre fecisti ymaginem vultus tui, et sanasti me a plaga corporis mei, credendo te esse regem omnium seculorum et salvatorem mundi. Renovasti enim cor meum et purificasti corpus meum ab omni dolore et infirmitate, credens ex toto corde meo quia tu es Deus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen."

Post hæc igitur Tiberius Cesar omnia que cognoverat de Christo rettulit a[d] senatum, dicens quod nimis esset bonum si Christum suo decreto et sua sententia illum confirmasset, ut Deus coleretur per universum mundum. Sprevit autem senatus dicta Cesaris pro eo quod non prius sibi indicatum fuisset. Lex enim antiquitus erat designata, ne quis apud Romanos Deus haberetur nisi senatus decreto et sua sententia illum confirmasset. Cumque secundum ea que superdiximus senatus rennisset, Tiberius tamen tenuit sententiam suam; comminatus est periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Ipse tamen permansit in fide quam acceperat in baptismo, firmiter credens in Christo, filio Dei. Duravit autem post hæc in imperio anno uno et mensibus quinque, et defunctus est in palatio suo apud Rome, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

HERE AFTYR FOLOWETH A STORY OF þE VERONYCLE.¹

Aboute the tyme that oure lorde Jhesu Cryst suffred hys passyoun, Tybery Cesar, that was Emperour of Roome, was supprysed wyth a gret seeknes; wherfor he chase Claudius Cesar to be Emperour of Roome. Than Tybery Cesar proposed to sende a wyse man unto Jherusalem for to seke Jhesu Cryst, for as moche as he had herde many merueyles of hym, and how he arreyssed men from dethe to lyfe and heled seeke men only by hys worde, and yet not he only, but hys dys-syple, thorough hym, heled moche people. Than seyde Tybery to hys pryue counsaile: "Yf Jhesu be God, than may he but helpe us, and yf he be but only man, than may he but lytel awayle us in þe gouernaunce of oure reeme; yet y desyre sore for to haue hym, for my seeknes stresseth me gretly. And therfor let us chese a wyse man that myght worschypfully brynge hym hyder." Than the Romeyns chesen a worschypful Baroun named Volusyen, whych was provost of þe temple, and preyde hym, yf he cowde fynde Jhesu, that he wolde w^t gret honour brynge hym to hym, for the angwyssche that he felt of the woundeþ pt he had of þe feestryd goute, whych was yn þe prenyest place of hys body and grened hym almost to the dethe. Therefor he preyd hym to make gret dylygence, "for here can no man hele me w^t al þe ryche medecynes that they can make, but y am enyr lenger þe worse. Wherfor, Volnsyen, y coniure the by the auctorite of alle þe

¹ Harleian MS. 149, f. 276.

goddes þt thou speede my message; and what someyr þou wylt haue of me þou schalt haue."

Whan Volusyen herde þe haste þt ye Emperour made, he sette al thynges yn rule after þe custom of the olde lawe, both yn the temple and yn hys housholde, and so toke hys leue and wente unto þe see for to performe hys message towarde Jherusalem. Than lay he uppon the see a yere and iij moneths, for yn hys passage ther selle many tempestes; and, whan he was comen to Jherusalem, alle þe Jewes of þe cyte wer aferde of hys comynge and went unto Pylat whycho had ben prynce of Judee.

Than went Pylat, as a man fulle of studye, ayenst Volusyen and seyde: "Feyre Sir, why lete ye us haue no knowleche of youre comynge, that we myght haue sent ayenst you?" Than seyde Volusyen to Pylat: "We wer not sent hyder to take hede how þe contrees and þe cytees ben rewled, nor for þe comoun rentys; but only for to seeche helthe of our ryght hyghe and myghty lorde Tybery Cesar, Emperour of Roome, whych ys strongly vexed w^t seeknes, so that w^t no medecyn nor enchauntement he can not be heled, for the horryble feestryd gowte hath utterly undone hym; and thys ys the enchesoun of oure comynge yn to thys contre at thys tyme. For we wolde haue a man that we desyre gretly, named Jesus; and y wold ryght fayn see hym, for y haue herde say that w^t oute coniurysoun or medecyne he heleth þe seeke folkes and but only w^t hys worde, lyke as a man telleth that ys come hyder wyth us. For he seyth that he heeles alle maner maladyes and moreour he reyseth men from dethe to lyfe."

Whan Pylat herde hym say these wordys, than was he ryght heuy. And forth w^t al ther came a Jewe named Thomas, whych had tolde these same talys to Tybery Cesar the Emperour, and seyde that Jesus was God and Goddes sone. "And ye may fynde hys dyssples, they wyl telle you alle the trouthe how yt ys."

Than spake to Pylat oon of hys owne knyghtes and seyde: "Thys gret wyse man, þt ys come hyder from Tybery Cesar, desyareth to haue the same Jhesu whych youre hyghnes doubted not to crucyfy." Than was Pylat confounded thorough the wordes of his owne knyght. But when Volusyen had herde the wordes of this knyght, than he seyde to Pylat: "Why woldest wythoute lycence of Tybery Cesar dampne to the dethe Jhesu Cryst, whych alle people toke hym for a ryghtwys man." Than answerde Pylat and seyde: "Forsothe", quoth he, "y myght not endure the cry that the Jewes maden; for they seyde that he was her kynge." Than seyde the knyght to Volusyen: "Sir, knowe for serteyn that we sawe hym ryse ageyn the thyrday out of hys sepulchre, and dyuers amonge us sawe hym go yn good heele and deliuered Joseph of Aramathye oute of prysoun with gret worschyp."

Than seyde Volusyen to Joseph of Arimathye: "Telle me that art so wyse amonge the Jewes, ho can telle us of Jhesu that was proued for a ryghtwys man amonge you; and whedyr yt be trewe that Jhesu arose from the dethe to lyfe; for we wyl resseyue thy wytnes for a trouthe." Than answerde Joseph: "Y am serteyn", seyde he, "that oure lorde Jhesu Cryst arose from dethe to lyfe. For, after he was dede, y sawe hym and spake wyth hym. And, after that y had beryed hym yn my monument whych was new made and eorven out of the stoon, y sawe hym alyue yn Galylee syttyng uppon þe hylle of Amalech blessinge hys dyssples."

Than Volusyen sente thorough alle the reeme of Jherusalem to se whedyr any man cowde fynde Jhesu, for he desyred gretly to see hym. But, whan no man cowde fynde hym, he was passynge sory. And, after that, came xij men, and Joseph wyth hem, and seyden: "We sawe Jhesu styte up unto hevenc." And here after folowen her names that seyde soo; and fyrst, Joseph, and Didimus, Abbadas, Lucyus, Isaak, Abdar, and othyr vj.

Than Volusyen comaunded that Pylat schuld be take and put yn prysoun; and so he was. Than came bothe men and women to Volusyen and tolde hym and hys knyghtes the gret merueyles that Jhesu dyd on erthe. And whan Volusyen herde these merueyles, he seyde before alle the peple: "Yf Jhesu be God, than may he helpe us; and, yf he be but oonly man, he may not helpe us to gouerne our reemes." Than Volusyen comaunded to take alle þe lynage of Pylat and put hem ynto prysoun, and comaunded to brynge Pylat befor hym. Than wyth gret lamentacyoun he seyde to Pylat: "Thou art enemy to trowthe and to þe Emperour of Roome. Why dedyst thou not sende to Tybery Cesar of þe gret bounte and poeste of Jhesu Cryst?" Than onswerd Pylat: "Y am not gylty of hys dethe, but the Jewes enforced me to kille hym." Than seyde Volusyen: "How mayest thou dyffende thy self that thou art not gylty of the dethe of Jhesu, whan thou tokest hym not away, but delueryddest hym to the felloun Jewes?" Than cam forth oon of the dessyples of Jhesu, named Symon, and seyde to Volusyen and to alle the peple: "Whan þt Pylate made beete Jhesu wyth synewes and scourges, he seyde to Jhesu, 'y haue power for to let the go, and y haue power for to slee the.' Than how may he sey or denye that he was not gylty of hys dethe?" Pylat onswerd and seyde: "Y dredde the wylynnesse of the Jewes, and therfor y deluiered Jhesu to hem for to be tormented. And, for to schewe that y was not gylty of hys dethe, y wyssehe myn hondes afor the Jewes and seyde, 'Ye schal see ryght wele that y am not gylty of the bloode of thys ryghtwys man.' Than seyde alle the aunceynt Jewes to me, 'Hys bloode be uppon us and uppon oure chyl dren.'" And whan Volusyen herd hym sey soo, he seyde to Pylat w^t wepyng yghen: "Ha! Pylat, whan thou myghtest haue deluiered Jhesu, thou schuldest not haue put hym ynto the Jewes hondes."

Than Volusyan enquired wyth a gret desyr yf he myght knowe by any maner of man yf any purtrature wer made after the semblance of Jhesu. Than cam forth a man named Marchus, whych knew the prynyte of a goode woman, and seyde to Volusyen: "Yt ys thre yere passed that Jhesu heled a woman of the course of bloode. And, whan sche was heled of her seeknes, sche made to peynte an ymage to the semblance of Jhesu whan he was on lyue." Than seyde Volusyen: "Tel me what ys the womannes name." He seyde, "Her name was Veronyca." Than asked Volusyen wher sche myght be founde. The man onswerde and seyde that sche dwelled yn Syre. Than Volusyen comaunded that sche schold be fette unto hym. And sche was so narrowly sought that at the last sche was founde and brought unto hym.

Than seyde Volusyen to Veronyca: "Mochie peple haue tolde me of youre goodnes and of youre goode demenyng, and therfor y prey you here my prayere, and that ye wyl schewe me the ymage of Jhesu, the gret God whych yaued the heele of thy body." The goode woman on-

swerd and seyde that sche wolde do yt wyth a goode wyll; and sche, as a woman subiet to Jhesu Cryst, schewed yt to Volusyen. And whan Volusyen saw yt he seyde: "Thys ys the ymage of our lorde Jhesu Cryst."

Than Volusyen comaunded that the schyppes schulde be made redy; and, whan they wer appareyled, Volusyen and hys knyghtes and Pylat and Veroneya, the goode woman, havyng wyth her the ymage of oure lorde wyth gret honour, entred ynto her schyppes; and, as soone as they myght, came to Roome.

But whan Tybery Cesar herd tydynges that Volusyan was come, he was very joyful; for he supposed to be made hole of hys maladye. Than Volusyan cam to Tybery Cesar and dyd hys dew reuerence, and, afyr that, tolde hym what befelle yn hys journey, and how po gret tempestes that he had on the see caused hys longe taryenge, and tolde hym also of the dethe of Jhesu Cryst. Than seyde Tybery Cesar: "Why was not Pylat put to dethe?" Volusyen onswerde and seyde: "Y doubted youre gret pytee and therfor y durst not put hym to dethe; but y haue brought hym hyder to do wyth hym what yt lyketh you."

Than Tybery Cesar were ryght wrothe and wolde not suffre that Pylat schuld come yn hys presence, but sware wyth a gret angre that he wold neyr eete mete unto the tyme pt Pylat wer dampned; and, afyr that, comaunded that he schulde be sent to the cytee of Tueye, there to be leyde yn prysoun.

Than seyde Volusyen to Tybery Cesar: "Sir, y haue brought you a woman whych Jhesu heled of the couree of bloode whych dured uppon her six yere; and sche, for hys sake, made do peynte an ymage afyr the semblaunce of Jhesu. And so here ys bothe the woman and the ymage. For sche hath lefte alle her goode and seweth the ymage of her God, seyenge that sche wolde not leue her lyfe, nor the hope of her helthe, ne the strengthe of her soule."

Whan Tybery Cesar herde thys, he comaunded to bryng before hym that good woman, Veroneya, wyth the ymage of her God, Jhesu Cryst. And, whan he sawe the ymage and the woman, he seyde unto her: "pou desyrest to touche the frenge of the vestement of Jhesu." And, whan he had seyde these wordes, he loked uppon the ymage of Jhesu Cryst, and, for feere that he had, felle downe to pe erthe wyth gret lamentacyoun, and worschipped that holy ymage. And forth wyth al oure lorde sende hym heele of hys maladye. But, whan he understode hym self hoole, he comaunded gret yestes to be geuen to thys goode woman of hys comoun rente, and bade her also that sche schulde honour the ymage wyth golde wrought wth precyous stones.

Then seyde the Emperour Tybery to Volusyen: "What wilt thou desyre of me for the gret travayles that pou hast suffred for me?" Volusyen onswerde and seyde: "Sir, y desyre noon othyr thyng but only that the peple myght be baptyzed yn pe honour of Jhesu Cryst." Than seyde Tybery: "Allas! Allas!" quod he, "pt y might not haue seene Jhesu Cryst lyuynge on erthe."

And, wythyn the ixth moneth afyr that, he let baptyse hym self; and, afyr that, wyth am emperyal joye comaunded that alle peple schulde worschyp Jhesu Cryst and hys ymage, and that they schuld take Jhesu for very God, and that they schuld edefye that ymage yn the honour of God and of the cytee. But the counseyl wolde not resseyne the name of Jhesu Cryst. Than was the Emperour wrothe,

and let turment the most part of the lordys of hys connseyl wyth harde turmentryes unto the dethe, for because they wolde not worschyp Jhesu Cryst. Neuertheles he lyled but a whyle aftyr that, for he was drowned yn a ryuere at Roome, whych aftyr that tyme was called Tybre, after the name of Tybery, for because he was drowned yn the same, whose soule be yn hevene wyth the trew louers of Jhesu Cryst. Amen.

HERE BEGYNNETH A TRETYS BETWENE SAYNT PETRE AND SYMON
MAGUS.

Aftyr the dethe of Tybery Cesar regned Claudyns Cesar, Emperour of Roome, and regnyd worschypfulle alle hys lyfe tyme. And, aftyr the dyssece of Claudyns Cesar, Nero resseynd the empyre, a chyld of the denyll and a mysbeleuynge tyrant. Than cam thyr before Neroo a Samarytan, named Symon Magnus, whyche kowde moche of þe denelles crafte and of enchauntementes, yn whome dwelled dyners denelles; and he seyde hym self that a was God and Cryst, and þt he was erucyfyed and dede and beryed and the thyrday aroose from dethe to lyfe. And thys he affermed.

But ther wer tolde to the Emperour Neroo many thynges whych Jhesu Cryst dyd yn the Jewery. Yt was tolde also to Neroo that Pylat hadde dampned Jhesu to the dethe. Werfor he made sende serteine of hys knyghtes yn to the cytee of Tueye, and comaunded that Pylat schulde be brought unto hym. And whanne the Emperour Neroo had a syght of Pylate, he charged hym to telle alle that he understode of Jhesu of Nazareth; and fourth wyth al he tolde hym alle that euyr he coude.

And yt was not longe aftyr that but that Neroo sente unto Antyoche aftyr Saynt Petre whyche was prynee of the appostlys of Jhesu Cryst, where he preched the worde of God and baptyzed the peple. Yu whyche tyme Saulus, the parsecutor of holy chyrche, that was a paynyme, was conuerted to God and so baptyzed and named Paule, and became an appostyl of God, prechyng the feythe of Jhesu Cryst.

And as Saynt Petre and Saynt Paule wer come to Neroo, Symon Magnus seyde, whych was a great enchauntour, that he was Jhesu Cryst. Than Saynt Petre and Saynt Paule dysdeyned at hys wordys, and seyde that he was not Jhesu Cryst, and seyde to the Emperour: "Sir, and ye wyl knowe the dedys that Jhesu Cryst dyd yn the Jewerye, take the lettrys that Pounce Pylat sent to Claudyns Cesar, þe Emperour, your predeceessour, and there schal ye knowe alle the dedes that Jhesu had wrought."

Than sent Neroo to þe tresorye of the Capytale, wher as that wrytynge was leyde; and whan he sawe yt, he tooke and redde yt; and aftyr that he seyde to Petre: "Ys thys trewe that ys wryten of Jhesu?" Saynt Petre seyde: "Sir Emperour, alle that ye haue of Jhesu Cryst ys trewe. And thys Enchauntour, Symon Magnus, ys ful of lesynges and euenymed wyth the denylls crafte; for a seyth that he ys God; but He whyche of and by hys dyvyn mageste toke bloode and flesche of the vyrgyn Marye, whych toke uppon hym as man for to saue man, yn whome ther be two substaunces, that ys to sey, of the godhed and of the manhed. And yn thys enchauntour ther ys also two substances, but they be not of God and of man, but they be of þe deuyll and of man. And by man he may dysseyne man."

Whan Neroo herde hym sey so, he was yn gret weere whedyr he myght beleue Saynt Petre or Symon Magnus; for cehe of hem affirmed her wordes wysely. Than Nero let calle Pylat befor hym and asked whedyr yt wer trewe that Saynt Petre had tolde hym and that he had herde by othyr men of Jhesu. Pylat onswerde and seyde: "Sir Emperour, alle that enyr Petre hath tolde the of Jhesu, ther ys no worde therof wronge but alle trewe that he seyth." Than seyde Symon Magnus to Nero: "Sir Emperour, thou schalt be thorough perced wyth a peece of wode for thyn yncrudelyte and wolvys schal deuoure thy body; but fyrst thou schalt see me styte up into heuene."

Than went Symon Magnus up to an hylle and dysputed ayenste Saynt Petre, and Saynt Petre¹ onyrcame hym. Wherfor Symon Magnus styed up yn to the eyre, whych made pe peple to stonde yn gret weerste whedyr he wer Cryst or nay. But whan Saynt Petre and Saynt Paule sawe the mysbelene of the peple, they kneled downe and preyed to almyghty God pt he wolde shewe hys uertue suche wyse that, thorough hys grace, the peple myght be conuerted to hys holy beleue. Than he comanded Symon Magnus yn the name of Jhesu Cryst, Fadyr and Sone and Holy Goost, that he schulde cleve asondyr as wysly as he was a falce enchauntour and fildely lyed, yn that he seyde he was God yn mageste. And forthe wyth al he was cloven on two partyes; and thus he deyed lyke a caytyfe, and felle yn to helle, where he schal for hys folyssche pryde suffro perpetual tourment.

HERE AFTYR FOLOWETH THE OBYTE OF PYLAT.

Yt was not longe aftyr that the Emperour Nero, for the cyrcumsyeyonn that Pylat had resseyued of the Jewes, the seyde Nero comanded that Pylat schuld be exyled yn to the eytee of Ermenye. And, for the gret angwyssche pt he suffred there, he smote hym self thorough the body wyth a sworde, and so he deyed a myschevous dethe.

THE DECOLLACYON OF SAYNT PETRE AND SAYNT PAULE.

Soone afterwarde, Nero let martyr Saynt Petre and Saynt Paule at Roome, whych wer appostles to Jhesu, by decolacyon, for because that they stered hym to reneye hys feyth and take baptême. And, aftyr her dethe, thys tyrant poorsewed the Crysten peple by hys extorte pouer for because they helde fermely the feyth of Jhesu Cryst, for whom they deyed and now regne yn eternal glory. Amen.

EXPLICIT.

¹ Erroneously altered to "Paule" by another hand.

NOTICE OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS NEAR TEALING IN FORFARSHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read February 16, 1881.*)

THE object of the present paper is to bring under the notice of this Association some remarkable prehistoric remains near Tealing in Forfarshire, including a group of stones bearing cup and ring sculptures similar to those described on a former occasion as existing at Ilkley in Yorkshire. The following is a list of the antiquities near Tealing: 1, an underground house at Tealing, with two large cup and ring stones, and three small ones; 2, a boulder with cup and ring marks in Tealing Hill Wood; 3, a stone with cup-marks built into the wall of a cottage at Cross House; 4, a circle of standing stones in Balkem-back Wood, one of which bears cup and ring marks; 5, two stones at Auchterhouse, with cup and ring marks.

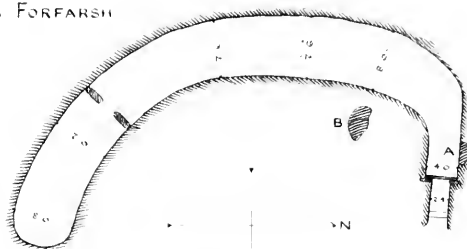
Underground House at Tealing.—Tealing is situated between Dundee and Forfar, at a distance of five miles to the north of the former. It lies at the foot of a range of hills running east and west, forming the northern watershed of the valley of the Tay, and terminating in Auchterhouse Hill, which rises to a height of 1,399 feet above the level of the sea. The underground house which is about to be described, is situated a furlong to the north of the mansion house of Tealing, in a field on the west side of Tealing Burn.¹ It was discovered accidentally, in the course of agricultural operations, during the summer of 1871, and was cleared out and fenced in for protection at the expense of the late Mrs. Scrymgeour-Fotheringham of Tealing, under the careful superintendence of Mr. Walter M'Nicoll, the land steward. The result of the excavations was recorded in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by the late Mr. Andrew Jervise, F.S.A. Scot.;² and the information contained in the pre-

¹ See Ordnance Map, 6 inch scale, sheet 50.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. x, p. 287.

EIRDE HOUSE
AT TEALING FORFARSH

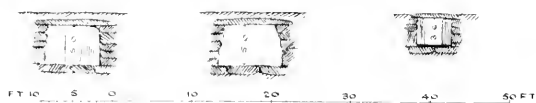
PLAN



LONGITUDINAL SECTION



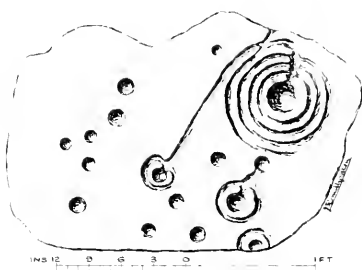
CROSS SECTIONS



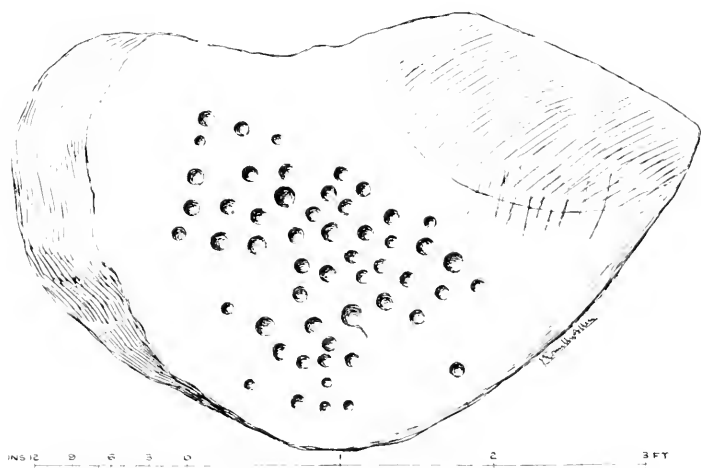
CUP AND RING STONE IN TEALING HILL WOOD



CUP AND RING STONE AT TEALING - FORFARSH



CUP-MARKED STONE AT TEALING - FORFARSH.



sent communication is derived partly from this source, and partly from Mr. W. M'Nicol himself, whose courtesy I take this opportunity of acknowledging.

This underground house is a typical specimen of a class of buildings peculiar to Scotland, which are known locally as "Eirde houses", "Piets' houses" or "Weems" (from the Gaelic *uaim*, a cave). The plans of all of them have a striking similarity, consisting of a passage with a narrow entrance, gradually expanding towards the inside, and terminating in a round end; the whole being of bent form, approximating to an arc of a circle. The method of construction appears to have been to dig a trench in the ground, of the required form and size, pave the floor, line the sides with dry rubble walls, and roof the whole with slabs laid across, afterwards replacing the turf. In the present instance the entrance-passage is 6 feet long, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 3 feet 6 inches high, and runs in a westerly direction. It commences with two steps, slopes gently downwards, and terminates in the doorway to the main chamber. This doorway consists of two upright slabs forming the jambs, and a single slab on edge, doing duty as a sill. There is no sign of any pivot-block for a door to turn on, or bolt-hole of any kind; but whatever kind of door was used, it evidently opened inwards. On the inside of the doorway, the passage is 4 feet wide and 4 feet high, and continues still in a westerly direction; the floor sloping down for a distance of 12 feet, until the level of the bottom of the main chamber is reached. The main chamber is formed by the gradual expansion of the entrance-passage, which at the same time assumes a bent form by turning in a southerly direction. The average width is 7 feet 6 inches; and height, 5 feet; the length being 45 feet. An inner chamber, 19 feet long, and of the same width and height as the other, is made by placing two upright slabs against the wall, so as to form the jambs of a second doorway. This chamber curves round in a south-easterly direction, and terminates in a semicircular end.

The side-walls are built of undressed stone, without mortar, and they incline inwards towards the top, so as to diminish the span of the roofing-slabs. The floor is paved with large flat boulders. All the roof-slabs are gone.

There are two stones, marked A and B on plan, with cup and ring sculptures. Stone A is built into the north wall of the entrance-passage, just inside the doorway, and at a distance of 2 feet from it. It is placed vertically, with its lower edge level with the sloping floor; and the sculptures face the inside of the building, so as to be visible. The stone is carefully built in, and evidently forms part of the original wall. It measures 3 feet by 2 feet, and is of fine-grained, reddish sandstone. The sculptures consist of sixteen cups varying from 1 to 3 ins. in diameter. One cup is surrounded by four concentric, circular grooves, and three other cups have a single ring. In two cases there are connecting grooves.

Stone B lies on the surface of the ground, 12 feet south of stone A, and 2 feet from the side-wall of the main chamber of the "weem". It measures 4 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, by 6 inches thick, and is of rudely semi-circular shape. The quality of stone is the same as that of stone A. The sculptures consist of fifty-five cups, varying from 1 to 2 inches in diameter, without either rings or connecting grooves. The scorings produced by the plough are very noticeable at one side of the stone.

There is a small stone built into the east wall of the main chamber of the building, with some apparently artificial scratchings on it.

In clearing out the "weem" the following objects were discovered: horses' teeth, bones of animals, charcoal, a piece of Samian ware, bronze rings, a bracelet, bits of cinerary urns, ten querns of freestone and mica-schist (whole and broken), remains of stone cups, a piece of sandstone with doubtful marks, and a piece of fused metal. These antiquities are now in the possession of Mr. Walter M'Nicol, who kindly allowed me to examine them. He has also collected several other objects which have been found in the immediate neighbourhood. Amongst these are a smoothing stone of oblong shape, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $\frac{3}{4}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$ in section, with rounded ends; a circular disc of mica-schist, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and a little over $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch thick; a stone lamp, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 6 inches broad, by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. There are three stone discs similar to the one above mentioned in the National Museum of Scottish Antiquities: and six others are known

to have been found in other parts of Scotland, generally in the Brochs.¹ Large stone discs are used for covers of pots; but the object of these small, perfectly circular, and elaborately finished discs is at present unknown. The stone lamp mentioned is also of a class frequently met with in the Pictish Towers or Brochs, and is of oval shape with two circular depressions, one for the oil, and the other for the end of the wick to rest in.

Mr. M'Nicol has also in his collection three small stones with cup-markings. 1. A small, flat piece of grey sandstone of four-sided form, 9 ins. by 9 ins., with four cups and a ring on one side, and five cups on the other. Found on Tealing Hill, near large cup-marked boulder. 2. A small, flat piece of grey sandstone of four-sided shape, 7 ins. by 7 ins., with four cups on one side. Found on site of primitive dwellings near Tealing. 3. A small, flat, triangular piece of grey sandstone, 8 ins. by 6 ins., by 3 ins. thick, with three cups on one side, the central one being surrounded by a ring. Found in Stackyard wall at Tealing.

Cup-stones of such small size have been found before, and some are figured in Sir James Simpson's work;² but they form a distinct class by themselves, and may, perhaps, be the means of throwing light on the meaning or use of these remarkable sculptures. No class of remains have been more fully investigated or described than the underground houses of Scotland. Their geographical distribution extends along the east coast of Scotland from Shetland to Berwickshire. At least twenty of them have been noticed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, eight being in Aberdeenshire, five in Forfarshire, and the remainder in Inverness, Sutherland, Roxburghshire, Fife, Berwickshire, and Edinburghshire.

Mr. J. Anderson says of the "weems": "They are long, narrow, curved galleries formed beneath the natural surface level. The opening is often beside or within the remains of a structure on the surface, which has been of less substantial construction, and is almost entirely obliterated. They seem thus to have been subterranean adjuncts to the overground sites of habitations of slighter

¹ See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. x, p. 717.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi, Appendix.

materials.¹ Dr. John Stuart says: "In Strathdonan, in Sutherlandshire, I examined two 'Eirde houses', which were entered from the wall of circular huts on the surface. One of these had a sort of trap at the end opposite to the entrance, formed of slabs, and permitting egress.....It has been doubted if these houses were ever really used as places of abode,—a purpose for which they seem in no degree to be suited. But as to this there can be no real doubt. The substances found in many of them have been the accumulated *débris* of food used by man, and indicate his presence as surely as the kitchen-middens which have recently attracted so much attention, while their occurrence in groups marks the gregarious habits of the early people. The bones of the ox, deer, and other like creatures have been found, as well as the shells of fish, mixed with fatty earth and charred wood. Ornaments of bronze have been found in a few of them, and beads of streaked glass. In some cases the articles found would indicate that the occupation had come down to comparatively recent times, as in the case of the Irish crannogs, where objects of the rudest times are found alongside those of the seventeenth century. The traces of hut-foundations on the surface, in connection with some of these underground chambers, are also conclusive of their use as places of at least occasional retreat of man."²

At Tealing a paved circle, 6 feet in diameter, was found close to the "weem", which may have been the floor of a hut. A similar paved circle was found near a "weem" at Conan in Forfarshire.³ In some cases these buildings are supplied with smoke-holes and drains, as at Buchaam in Strathdon, Aberdeenshire.⁴

Cup and ring stones have been found built into the walls of underground houses in the following instances: 1, Eday; 2, Papa Westray; 3, Pickaquoy; 4, Frith,—all in Orkney; 5, Letham Grange, Forfarshire;⁵ 6, Clova, near Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire.⁶ Stones scooped out like mortars have been found built into the walls of "weems" at Migvie in Aberdeenshire, and Airlie in Forfarshire.⁷

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 350.

² *Ibid.*, viii, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 492.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 436.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, Appendix, p. 40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xii, p. 358.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, pp. 305 and 354.

The finding of querns and spindle-whorls is of very common occurrence in these buildings, and indicates a comparatively high stage of civilisation. A piece of Samian ware was dug out of a "weem" at Farnell in Forfarshire,¹ as well as at Tealing, shewing that these buildings were inhabited after the Roman period.

Another evidence of the construction of these buildings after the Roman period, is that at Crichton, in Edinburghshire, a "weem" was discovered in the stones dressed after the Roman fashion, built into the walls.² In a "weem" at Newstead, in Roxburghshire, several richly moulded stones of Roman workmanship were discovered. Although these facts throw so much light on the inhabitants of the "weems", they in no way serve to make the origin of the cup-marked stones any clearer, as it is impossible to say whether the stones were carved by the inhabitants of the "weems" or not. The stone that was found built into the foundations of the "weem" at Letham Grange, in Forfarshire, after being removed, was found to have cups on both the hidden and visible sides, which tends to shew that the sculptures were of earlier date than the "weem". The cup-stone at Tealing is still in place, so that it may also possibly have sculptures on the back as well as the front.

Cup-marked Boulder in Tealing Hill Wood.—One mile due north of Tealing House, in Tealing Hill Wood, will be found a boulder situated at a height of 700 feet above the sea-level. It is of sandstone, and measures 4 ft. 9 ins. long, by 3 ft. 10 ins. broad, by 1 ft. thick. On its upper surface are carved twelve cups, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ins. in diameter. One of them is surrounded by a single ring, and two others by a double ring. The stone lies horizontally, and slopes down from the largest cup, which is at the top. At six localities within a radius of three-quarters of a mile, cists and other sepulchral remains have been discovered.

Cup-marked Stone at Cross House, Balkemback.—A mile to the west of Tealing House, on the south-east corner of the cross-roads near Balkemback, is a place called Cross House.³ There is a cottage here, into the north-west

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. viii, p. 474.

² *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 105; vol. i, p. 213.

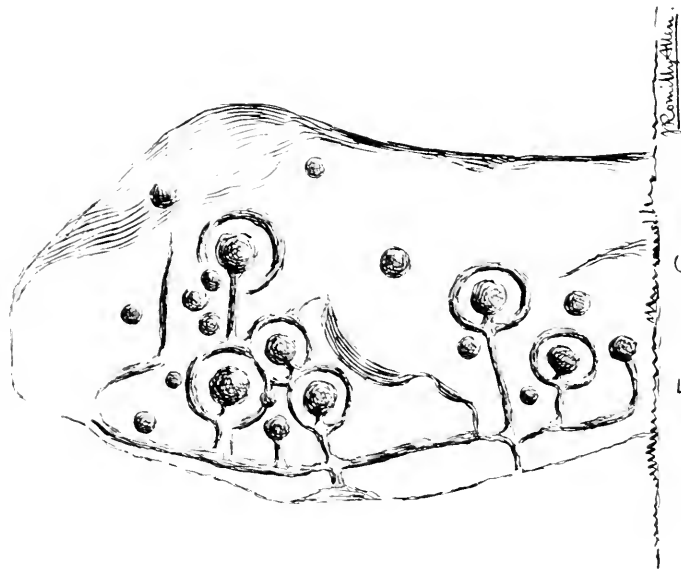
³ See Ordnance Map, 6 inch scale, sheet 50.

corner of which is built a stone covered with cup-markings. The stone is of reddish sand-stone, and measures 2 ft. 2 ins. by 1 ft. 4 ins., by 9 ins. thick. It is built into the corner of the house, at a height of 1 ft. above the ground. The cups are thirteen in number, varying from 1 to 3 ins. in diameter; and some as deep as $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, which is unusual, the cups generally being much shallower, and not so conical in shape. The sculptures are on the north side of the house. These markings are known locally as "Devil's Tackets."

Cup-marked Stone in Balkemback Wood.—Two miles west of Tealing House, and one mile beyond the last mentioned stone, is Balkemback Wood. It lies immediately to the north of the road; but the trees have been cut down. About 200 yards from the road is a circle of stones marked on the Ordnance Map (6 inch scale, sheet 49) as a "Druidical temple", with a qualifying "*supposed*" in brackets. The so called temple consists of three stones arranged in a triangle, whose sides are 25 ft. 10 ins., 25 ft. 10 ins., and 29 ft. 4 ins. respectively. There is also a small outlying stone on the north side. The first stone measures 5 ft. by 4 ft., by 10 ins. high; the second, 2 ft. by 3 ft., by 3 ft. 6 ins. high; the third, 2 ft. by 2 ft., by 3 ft. 5 ins. high. This last is of reddish sandstone, and lies at the east corner. On its east side are sculptured twenty-one cups, varying from 1 to 3 ins. in diameter. Six of the cups are surrounded by single rings, and there is an elaborate system of connecting grooves. On the west side are carved sixteen cups, varying from 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter. There is also a connecting groove at one side. The situation is in no way remarkable. The circle lies near the foot of the range of hills previously referred to, at a height of 630 ft. above the sea.

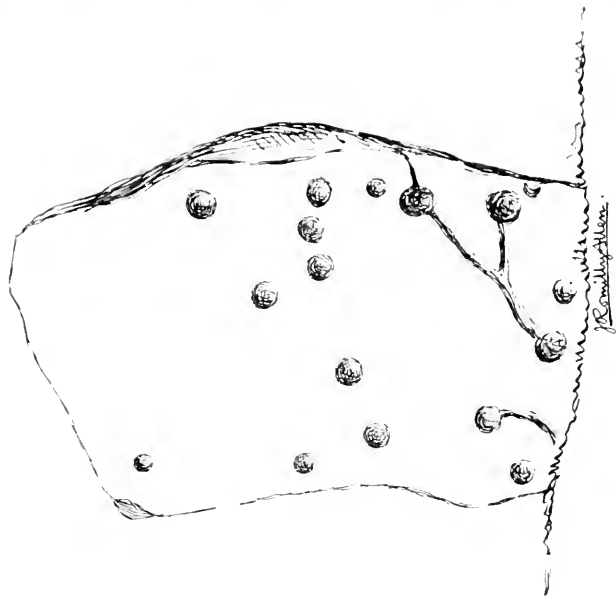
Cup-marked Stones near Auchterhouse.—Five miles west of Tealing, at the foot of Auchterhouse Hill, and a mile north of the Kirkton of Auchterhouse, at a height of 500 feet above the sea, is a stone marked on the Ordnance Map (6 inch scale, sheet 49), and described as "Remains of Druidical Altar", the "*supposed*" in brackets omitted in this case. This mysterious description led me to ask Mr. McNicoll to examine the place for me: which he very kindly did, and was rewarded by finding that not only

CUP AND RING STONE
BALKEMBACK WOOD-FORFARSH.



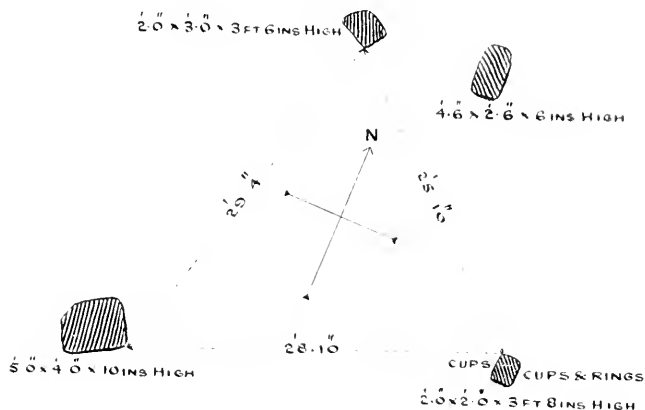
INS. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
EAST SIDE
2 FT.

CUP AND RING STONE
BALKEMBACK WOOD-FORFARSH.

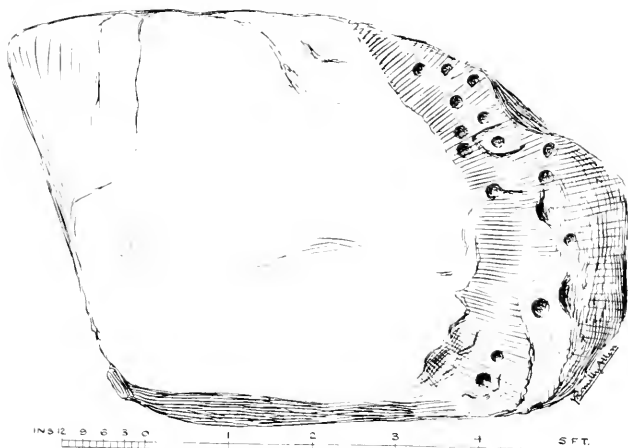


INS. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
WEST SIDE
2 FT.

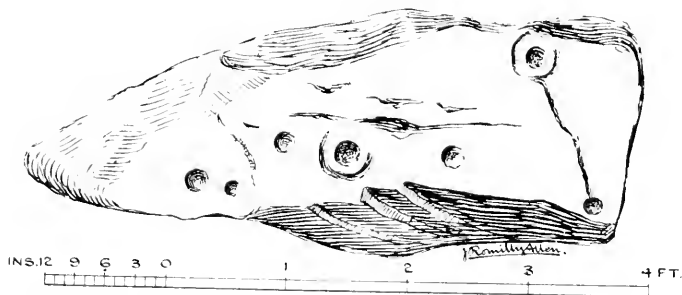
CIRCLE OF STONES BALKEMBACK - FORFARSH.



CUP-MARKED STONE NEAR AUCHTERHOUSE - FORFARSH



STONE WITH CUP & RING MARKS
NEAR AUCHTERHOUSE - FORFARSH.



was the stone marked on the Map covered with cups, but that there was another still more interesting cup and ring stone not far off. The first group of stones are two in number,—one, an upright, pointed stone, 5 ft. by 2 ft., by 3 ft. 6 ins. high; and the other, lying 3 ft. 6 ins. to the south-west, 7 ft. 6 ins. by 5 ft., by 2 ft. 6 in. thick. The latter has fifteen cups, varying from 2 to 3 ins. in diameter; one with a single ring carved on the sloping face at the south end of the stone. It lies horizontally, and has two hollows worn at the end where the cups are, by the toes of persons climbing on to the top. The ground under this stone has been partly removed, and it appears to rest on two others; but the whole appears to be natural, and not a cromlech or rocking-stone. The stones, though low, are situated on the top of a knoll overgrown with furze-bushes, and occupy a very prominent position, so as to be conspicuous from all points near. 160 yards to the west, and lower down the hill, is a second group of three stones, lying at the corners of a triangle whose sides are 15 ft. 6 ins., 15 ft. 3 ins., and 6 ft. 3 ins. respectively. The first stone measures 4 ft. by 2 ft., by 1 ft. high; the second, 4 ft. by 2 ft. 7 ins., by 9 ins. high; and the third, 5 ft. by 2 ft., by 1 ft. 6 ins. high. This latter lies horizontally, and has carved on its upper surface seven cups, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 ins. in diameter; two having a single ring, and there being a connecting groove between two others. All the stones are of sandstone of an orange colour. There is an ancient fort on the top of Auchterhouse Hill.

This concludes the description of one class of remains in a very rich district; and I take this opportunity of mentioning that we owe a knowledge of almost the whole of them to the careful observation of Mr. W. M'Nicol of Tealing. The drawings which illustrate the paper are made from rubbings and careful measurements taken on the spot during the course of last summer.

KNITTING-SHEATHS OR KNITTING-STICKS.

BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

(Read March 16, 1881.)

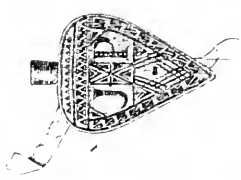
I HAVE the honour to exhibit to the Society twenty-eight specimens of knitting-sheaths or knitting-sticks collected mainly from the Wigton district in Cumberland. These implements are stuck into the girdle or apron-string, at the left hand side, for the purpose of supporting the end of one of the knitting-needles (either three or four in number) during knitting, while the clue, or ball of thread, is supported by the clue-holder.—a metal hook, of which I exhibit three specimens, one dated 1769.

I do not claim for these objects any great antiquity. They are of the class of antiquities which Prof. Mitchell, in his admirable work, *The Past in the Present*, calls “Neo-Archaic”; objects whose use has either just ceased, or only lingers in out-of-the-way places. But I claim for these objects that they are, in most cases, reproductions of very archaic types.

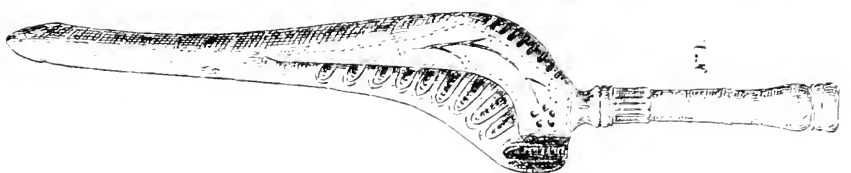
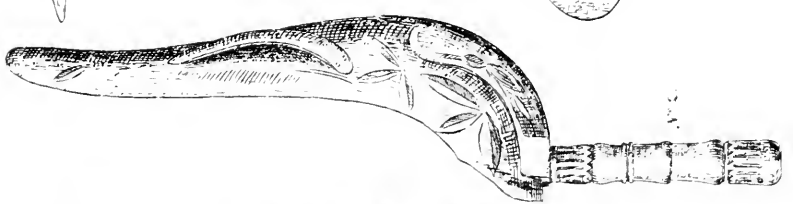
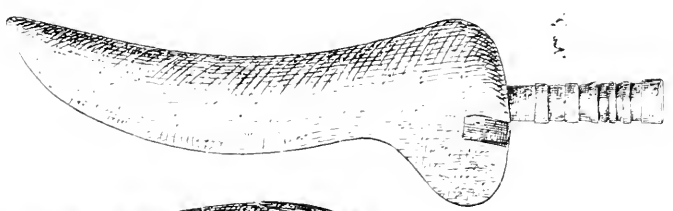
The knitting-sheaths on the table divide themselves into four classes. The most modern in type are those produced by the turner’s lathe, of which I have here several specimens. Nothing more can be said of them than that they are very nicely turned. From inquiries I have made, this class does not date back earlier than about the beginning of this century. I have not thought it worth while to give an illustration of any of this class.

A second class is heart-shaped. Now-a-days people are content to stick the needle into a quill stitched to a triangular bit of cloth, or to use a tin heart with a tube behind it; but I exhibit a beautiful specimen carved in wood (No. 7 on the Plate), which is of an archaic type.

The third and fourth classes are archaic in type, and have neither been bought in a tin-shop, nor turned in a lathe. They are the work of the peasants and farm-servants. Though they follow, in the main, two distinct patterns, yet they have an individuality about them, and



Section at A A



Knitting sticks.

were, no doubt, made by the country lads for their sweet-hearts. That was the case with this one (No. 5 in the drawing), which was made by a farm-servant, and is inscribed ESTER GRAVES. 1722.

One of these two classes (the third and fourth classes) resembles a knife or dagger (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, in the drawing). They are curved to fit the waist. The other class (see Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11), are straight, and are of the type of the one engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv, p. 95. The instance there engraved is from the Links of Skaill, in Orkney, and is supposed to be of the last century. No. 9 in the drawing has been in the family of the late Mr. George Moore for over a century, and No. 10 is dated 1755.

The ornamentation of classes 3 and 4 seems to have a decidedly northern look. To my mind they are silent evidences of that colonisation of Cumberland and Westmorland unrecorded in history, but proved by my relative Mr. R. Ferguson, M.P., in his *Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland*.

Since writing the above, a fifth class of knitting-sticks has been brought to my notice,—a class whose prototype has been the head of a fiddle. This class has a very Italian type about it, but comes clearly from the fiddle.

I also exhibit two “broaches”. Halliwell, in his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, says, “in Yorkshire they call a skewer, or any sharp pointed stick, a *broche*, as also the spindle-stick whereon the thread or yarn is wound.” The ball of yarn was stuck on one end of the broche, and the other end into the knitter’s shoe, who, of course, is sedentary.

I am indebted to Mr. F. Simpson, architect, for the beautiful drawing of eleven of the specimens exhibited by me.

In the discussion which arose, the Rev. Mr. Mayhew said that the dagger-shaped type reminded him of knives and daggers depicted on Mithraic stones found in the vicinity of the Roman Wall. In all probability the type originated thus; and thus their Eastern aspect was accounted for.

REMAINS FOUND AT THE READING GAS-WORKS.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, M.R.C.P.

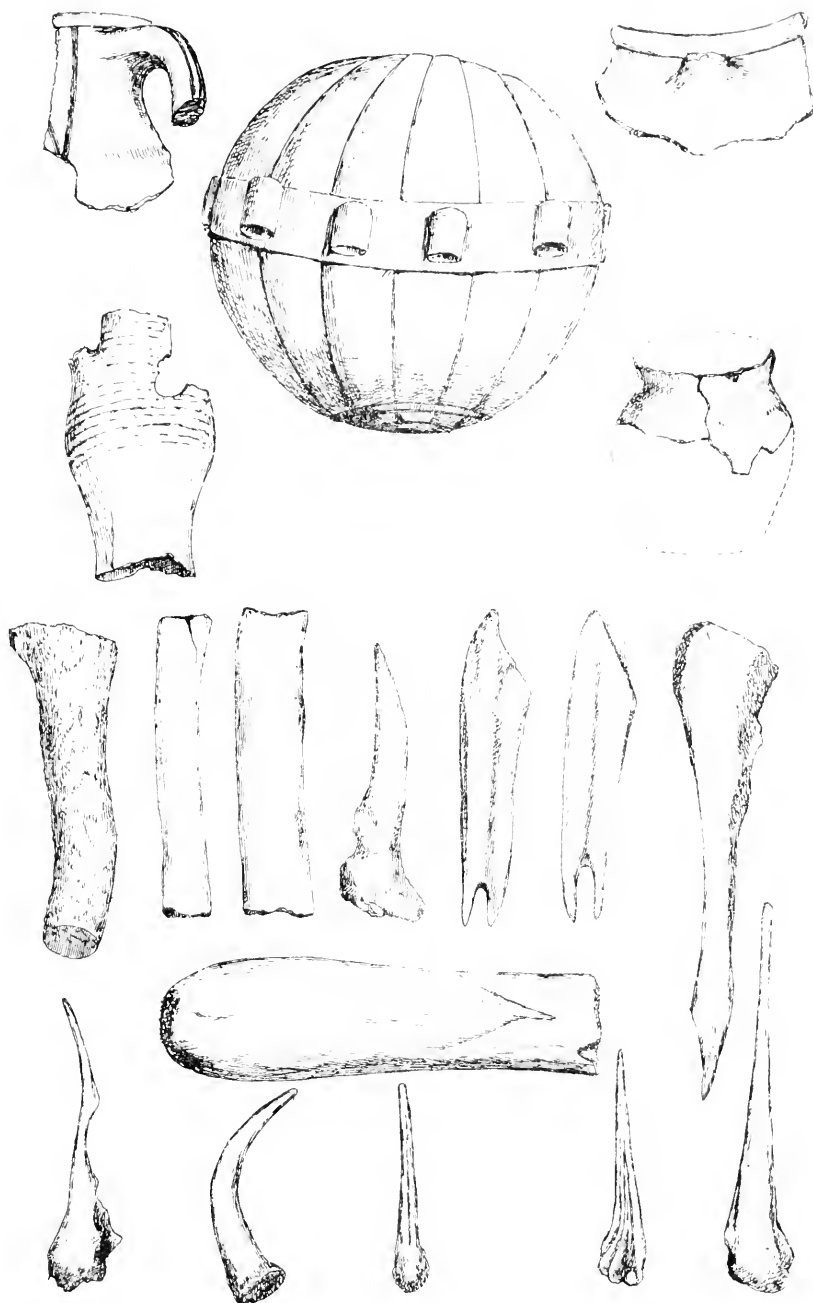
(Read March 16, 1881.)

DURING the summer months of 1880 some interesting remains were brought to light at the Reading Gas-Works, in cutting through the bed of the Kennet Valley in order to lay the foundation of a bridge which is now being built across the Kennet river. The section embraced the following stratifications: top soil, peaty, 3 feet; silt of the old Kennet river, 5 feet; a layer of peat, 3 feet; and a bottom bed of shell-marl, 6 feet; the whole, 17 feet.

The remains, which were placed in my care by the Board of Gas Directors, in order that a series of them may be arranged in the future Reading Museum, consisted of bones of wild animals long since extinct, and others which had been domesticated in Roman times, together with pottery of different periods, and instruments of rude character, constructed from the bones of animals similar to those among which the implements were found. These relics, according to their arrangement in the different stratifications, naturally fall into the comparatively modern, mediæval, and Romano-British, the last being confined to the peat and shell-marl.

The articles in the upper division consisted of the bones of animals similar to those now in use; and a quantity of coarse, hard-baked, plain German stoneware of the sixteenth century, chiefly in jugs, pitchers, and bottles; with some sections of seventeenth century ware, shewing rude ornamentation. There were also a number of small clay tobacco-pipes, known as "Fairy-pipes", which may be ascribed to any period since the reign of Elizabeth; a coin of Louis XIV; and two keys with annular bows, which I should regard as of the seventeenth century,—those of earlier date being of much more elaborate design. Thus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries key-bows were of a lozenge-pattern; in the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND AT READING.



turies, they were trefoil in shape, and of considerable variety; and when annular, were not unfrequently filled in with designs participating of the architectural decorations of the period. Later, in the sixteenth century, keys were very varied and fanciful in design; the decorations at the time of Elizabeth consisting of scrolls, cyphers, crosses, etc., very ingeniously and tastefully interwoven.

In the mediæval division the relics, which were found chiefly at the base of the silt of the old Kennet river, consisted of fictile ware of various kinds, of which the fine specimen (fig. 1) is of thin, red ware, partially glazed of a bright brown. It has a hole at the upper part of the swell, which appears to have been artificially made. It is of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Other sections of vessels, such as figs. 2 and 3, bear a bright green glaze (silicate of lead) blotched with black. The paste is a soft buff, and the glaze is evidently intended to render the vessels less porous to fluids. It is of about the fourteenth century. Some bases of vessels have thumb-impressions on the exterior, with corresponding finger-nail marks on the interior (figs. 4, 5). These are of the fifteenth century, if not earlier; and there are portions of thickly glazed bowls in red ware, of about the same date. The "crocks" were all portions of pitchers or bowls, the plates and dishes during the middle ages being mostly of wood or pewter.

In the same division should, perhaps, be placed the article fig. 6. It is of silver, weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb., and measuring 28 inches round its belt. It has the appearance of the brass chandeliers formerly in use for lighting religious edifices. It is probably a "trendell", used to bear the candles which were lighted in front of the rood. There are notices in the churchwardens' books (1523) of St. Giles' and St. Lawrence's, Reading, and also of St. Helen's, Abingdon, regarding payments for lighting and repairing the trendell. As the pottery and other remains were found at the back of the Abbey, the inference is that they were formerly used at the Abbey tables, etc.

Arriving at the lowest substrata, the peat and marl, the pottery, animal remains, and bone implements, are referable to Roman times; unless the rim and upper portion of a large unburnt, hand-made urn (fig. 7), which

appeared at this time, should dictate a period as distant as the Celtic for some of the articles. The vessel is such to which the term Celtic is usually applied; but I should consider that, as in the case of the large hand-made "craggans" still found in association with modern household implements in the Isle of Lewis, the urn, although Celtic in character, should be included in the Romano-British series. The ordinary Roman pottery consists of remnants of bowls, basins, saucers, and fragments of pitchers, of the commoner culinary kinds found at Roman sites.

The marl furnished one specimen undoubtedly Celtic, a well wrought polished greenstone hatchet; and it is not improbable that some of the rude bone tools may be ascribed to the same period. The axe is of similar type to a ground hatchet shewn in fig. 59 in Dr. Evans' work, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*. Its length is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the edge is sharply wrought, and the side-angles are slightly rounded.

Among the animal bones are some of considerable interest and rarity, as the beaver, wolf, and wild boar. That they have lain in contact with peat is shewn by the colour they have derived from the iron during vegetable decomposition. Many of the bones bear calcareous incrustations from the marl: indeed, some of the skulls were filled with the *débris* of land and freshwater shells from the marl, together with bones and teeth of fish, cherry-stones, and broken hazel-nut shells, which had been washed in at the time of their deposition. The beaver has been found in association with similar animal remains in the peat of the Kennet at Newbury;¹ and the discovery of tusks of wild boar, with hazel-nut shells, has received notice as having occurred at Abingdon.² In the Reading series the following have been recognised:—gigantic ox, *urus*, *Bos primigenius*; long fronted or Celtic ox, *Bos longifrons*; wild boar, *Sus scrofa*; hog, a sub-species; goat, *Capra hircus*; wolf, *Canis lupus*; dog, *Canis familiaris*; fox, *Vulpes vulgaris*; beaver, *Castor Europeanus*; horse, *Equus caballus*; red deer, *Cervus elaphus*; fallow deer, *Cervus dama*; roe (!), *Cervus capreolus*; sheep, horned

¹ *Transactions of Newbury District Field Club*, vol. ii, p. 139.

² Owen, *British Fossil Mammals and Birds*, p. 430.

and unhorned, *Oris*. The bones of some smaller animals have not yet been satisfactorily determined,—perhaps wild cat and otter; also of several species of aquatic birds.

It is stated by Mr. Walter Money¹ that until the year 1226 the royal forest of Windsor extended as far as Hungerford, in which year the Kennet Vale was disafforested by royal charter. Independently of this, there is no doubt that forest had a wide range in Roman times, the clearances for purposes of agriculture being chiefly due to the Saxons. It need not excite surprise, therefore, that the wild inhabitants of these forests should have left their bones in the turbaries or sub-turbary marls. Their remains might have found their way to the spots where they lie buried in various ways, as the spoils of the hunter, animals that had been used for food, or of forest animals which had become mired or died, and were washed down during flooded periods, and lodged in angles and reaches along the river-courses.

The instruments made from bone were many and various, and being mostly pointed, might have served the purpose of awls, drills, or punches, even if some might not have been weapons (fig. 5). Some are made from the ulnar bones of red deer, ox, and apparently goat (figs. 4, 5, 6); in some cases the elbow being cut off (figs. 4, 5), in others not (fig. 6). Pointed implements are made from the metacarpal bones (rudimentary) of deer (figs. 1, 2) and perhaps horse (fig. 3). “Snags” of deer-horn have been cut for some purpose (figs. 8, 9); in some instances worn at the point with use (fig. 8); and fragments of deer-antler are sawn and shaped in a manner for which it is difficult to assign any definite purpose. A large rib of *Bos* is somewhat spoon-shaped (fig. 7), and might have been intended for a marrow-spoon or scoop; and as all the long bones were split open, and the skulls smashed, it is likely the intention was the extraction of the marrow. Some of the leg-bones have the appearance of their softer articulations having been gnawed by dogs or wolves. But the most interesting series appears to be those represented in figs. 10, 11, and 12; and as more than one hundred specimens were found in a very small space, they appear to indicate a local industry. One set of these implements, of which

¹ *Transactions of Newbury District Field Club*, vol. ii, note to p. 131.

an example has been forwarded (fig. 10), is formed from plates of bone split off from the bases of the lower jaw-bones of the Celtic ox. One end is left rough, as separated from the bone, the other is shaped in a loop; and there is little doubt it was intended for a shuttle to make fish or forest-nets.

The accompanying instruments (figs. 11, 12) are portions of ribs of *Bos*, deer, and some smaller animals, which from their cut ends and polished appearance have evidently been used; and it is likely were tools for forming the meshes or loops, the ribs used being of different sizes, implying that they were intended to construct nets of varying coarseness. A portion of a net made with a pair of these rude tools has been forwarded to me by Mrs. Cunningham of Devizes, in demonstration that such might have been their application.



ON PTOLEMY'S MEASUREMENTS OF THE SOUTH COAST.

BY HENRY BRADLEY.

(*Read May 19, 1880.*)

IN the volume of this *Journal* for 1878 there appeared an article from the pen of Mr. Gordon M. Hills, entitled "The Measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary applied to the Southern Counties of England", in which the author endeavoured to establish a number of strikingly original conclusions with regard to the Roman geography of the south of England. Amongst other things Mr. Hills claimed to have proved that the Damnonian Isca was not Exeter, but Dorchester; that Durnovaria, commonly supposed to be Dorchester, should be sought for at Romsey; that Venta Belgarum was not Winchester, but Havant; and that the river Trisanton (in the first syllable of which name Mr. Hills, with the guarded permission of Professor Rhys, sees the numeral three) is to be identified with the three contiguous estuaries known as Portsmouth Harbour, Langston Harbour, and Chichester Harbour. It is hardly necessary to say that these results, if really established, would amount to nothing less than an entire revolution in the accepted theories respecting the Roman geography of the southern counties; and when they are put forward by an archaeologist of Mr. Hills' eminence it is desirable that they should be carefully examined, and if they prove erroneous, that the error should be conclusively shewn. Up to the present time, however, I am not aware that Mr. Hills' novel conclusions have been publicly challenged, and I have, therefore, requested permission to discuss them briefly in these pages. I believe I shall be able to shew that although some of the points treated of in the paper have been handled with the acuteness and judgment which might have been expected, the main portion of the writer's argument is based on an entire and easily demonstrable fallacy.

The first task which Mr. Hills has proposed to himself

is a comparison of Ptolemy's description of the south coast with the actual features of the district as they appear in modern maps. In order to make such a comparison successfully, it is in the first place necessary to ascertain what was Ptolemy's estimate of the length of a degree, so that we may be able to reduce his measurements to our own scale. Now there exists, as I shall presently shew, a very simple means of obtaining an answer to this preliminary question. Mr. Hills, however, has overlooked this, and has attempted to solve the problem by a method of calculation entirely erroneous in principle.

The process of computation which Mr. Hills has adopted is briefly as follows. In the first place he observes that Ptolemy states the length of the known world (the difference of longitude between his extreme eastern and western stations) at 180 degrees. The actual position of these two stations is known, and the true difference of longitude between them is 130 degrees. In this case a deduction of 27·7 per cent. would bring Ptolemy's measurement into conformity with the true measurement; *therefore*, Mr. Hills concludes, we must take off that per centage from all Ptolemy's longitudes in order to reduce them to their equivalents according to our modern scale. But this conclusion, it is easy to shew, does not follow at all.

The reasoning of Mr. Hills would, of course, be correct if he supposed that Ptolemy was accurately acquainted with the linear distance and the true bearings from each other of his two extreme stations. Such a supposition, however, would obviously be absurd. Ptolemy's error of 50 degrees out of 180 degrees, therefore, is composed of two distinct elements: the first due to the geographer's mistaken estimate of the length of a degree, and the second to his misinformation with regard to distances and bearings. Mr. Hills seems to have thought that when so large a proportion of the earth's circumference was taken, the errors arising from the second source would have a tendency to balance each other. But this is by no means the case. The tendency of itinerary reports, on which Ptolemy had chiefly to depend for his longitudes, is (especially in remote and little known regions) decidedly towards *over*-estimating both the distances passed over and the directness of the route followed. The oppo-

site error is quite an exceptional phenomenon. We may, therefore, expect that the calculation of Mr. Hills will result in a serious over-statement of the amount of error in Ptolemy's estimate of the length of a degree; and this anticipation we shall find on examination to be correct.

The key to the whole question is to be found in Ptolemy's own statement, that he estimated the degree of a great circle at 500 *stadia*. There is the strongest reason for believing that these *stadia* are the Olympic *stadia*, eight of which made a Roman mile; and it is quite certain that 75 Roman miles, or 600 *stadia*, are almost exactly the length of a degree. A deduction of one-sixth, therefore, from Ptolemy's angular measurements will reduce them to their true value.

But in applying this correction to the longitudes of places on the south coast of Britain, there is a further consideration not to be lost sight of, namely, that Ptolemy's latitudes are in this district, on the average, about 2 degrees too high. The consequence of this will be that his estimate of a degree of longitude will be 4 per cent. smaller than it would have been if his latitudes had been correct. Mr. Hills has failed to observe this point: rather a fortunate oversight in one sense, as his percentage of deduction is too high already. We have previously reduced the value of Ptolemy's degree to 50 minutes of true longitude, and this further correction brings it down to 48 minutes: that is to say, we must take off one-fifth from Ptolemy's measurements, or 20 per cent., instead of 27·7 per cent., as is done by Mr. Hills.

It may be objected that Ptolemy may possibly have practically forgotten the sphericity of the earth, and so have assigned a wrong value to the degree of longitude as compared with that of latitude. The answer to this is that we have, with regard to Britain itself, conclusive evidence to the contrary. Ptolemy has distinctly stated that at the middle latitude of Albion, which he elsewhere says is the 56th parallel, the degree of longitude is to that of latitude nearly as 11 to 20. The exact proportion is as 33·55 to 60; so that the imputation of blundering which has been sometimes made against this great geometer is clearly disproved.

We will now proceed to compare the longitudes of Pto-

lemy, as thus corrected, with the actual geography of the south coast; but in so doing we must not begin, as Mr. Hills has done, with the western extremity, where Ptolemy's statements of positions may be expected to be little better than guesswork, but at the other end of the coast, in the part of Britain with which the Romans were more familiar than with any other. Our point of departure must be the Cantian promontory. As Ptolemy recognises no quantity smaller than 5 minutes, it is of little consequence whether we regard Cantium as the North Foreland, or, with Mr. Hills, as the South Foreland. I will choose the latter, the position of which is 1 degree 23 minutes east of Greenwich.

Travelling westward from Cantium, the first point mentioned by Ptolemy is the New Harbour, the distance of which from the starting-point is 1 of his degrees, or 48 minutes of our measure. This indicates a position 35 minutes east of Greenwich, which is the precise longitude of Hastings. Now it is well known that Hastings did once possess an excellent harbour. The fact that this has now disappeared seems to shew that it was an artificial harbour, constructed in defiance of the natural unfitness of the site; exactly, in fact, what the term *καινὸς λιμὴν* would naturally be supposed to imply.

The next point to the westward is the river Trisanton, distant from Cantium 1 degree 40 minutes of Ptolemy's measure, or 1 degree 20 minutes of ours. The resulting Greenwich longitude, 3 minutes E., is not *half a mile* wrong for the mouth of the Sussex Ouse. Mr. Hills' identification of the Trisanton with the triple estuary on the Hampshire border implies that Ptolemy committed an error of forty or fifty miles in his description of the very district respecting which his information would be likely to be most accurate. If this were really the fact, it would be hopeless to try to educe any trustworthy results from such a jumble as Ptolemy's figures would be proved to be.

The Great Harbour, placed by Ptolemy at 3 degrees from Cantium, should, according to our rules, be sought for at 1 degree 1 minute west of Greenwich. The point thus indicated is about 6 minutes, or four English miles, too far east for the entrance to Portsmouth Harbour. All antiquaries but Mr. Hills agree in placing the Great Har-

hour at Portsmouth. Mr. Hills prefers the Southampton Water; but he quotes from Prof. Earle some strong historical reasons for adhering to the received view. I think that the distance from Cantium proves that the name strictly referred to Portsmouth Harbour; but there is reason for believing that, in a looser sense, it may have included not only the Southampton Water, but the whole of the Solent.

We next come to the river Alainos, 4 degrees 20 minutes west from Cantium, which on our principle becomes 2 degrees 5 minutes west of Greenwich, the exact longitude of the point at which the From discharges itself into Poole Harbour. This coincidence, however, as we shall presently see, may possibly be the result of accident.

Ptolemy's next landmark is the mouth of the river Isaca; and here, for the first time, we meet with a considerable discrepancy. The position given, 5 degrees from Cantium, corresponds to 2 degrees 37 minutes west of Greenwich; but the mouth of the Axe is at 3 degrees 3 minutes,—a difference of 26 minutes, or about twenty miles. As I agree with Mr. Hills that the Isaca can be no other than the Axe, I can only ascribe this difference to an error on the part of Ptolemy's informants. This error, which the accuracy of the measurements up to this point renders a serious one, although it is small compared with those which Mr. Hills is constrained to assume, may either have been occasioned by the tortuous character of the coast-line between Poole Harbour and the Axe, or it may have arisen from the distances west of the Great Harbour having been measured from the western end of the Solent instead of the eastern. On the latter hypothesis Mr. Hills would be right in identifying the Alainos with the Wey instead of the From, and Ptolemy's distance between the Alainos and the Isaca would differ only four miles from the truth.

The Isaca has generally been supposed to be the Exe, and it may seem singular that Ptolemy should have omitted to mention that important river. But if his authorities gave him the positions of two rivers named Isca (or Isaca) within twenty miles of each other, he would naturally conclude that he had to choose between two conflicting statements relating to the same object. The

fact that Ptolemy places the city Isca near to the river Axe, therefore, does not at all justify Mr. Hills' inference that Exeter cannot be the town to which this name belongs.

The distance from the Isaca to the mouth of the Tamarus is given by Ptolemy as 1 degree 20 minutes, equal to 1 degree 4 minutes of our measure. Adding this to the longitude of the mouth of the Axe, we obtain the position 4 degrees 7 minutes west of Greenwich, which, strange to say, just fulfils the required condition of being inside of Plymouth Sound.

We have thus arrived at the startling result that Ptolemy's estimate of the distance from Cantium to the Tamar, when corrected according to our *à priori* rule, would be absolutely exact but for an easily explained error of twenty miles; that the positions he assigns to the New Haven, the Trisanton, and possibly the Alainos, as well as the distance he gives between the Isaca and the Tamarus, are perfectly accurate; and that he only makes an error of four miles in the position of the Great Harbour. The difficulty now is to understand how Ptolemy, with his imperfect means of information, could have hit the truth so exactly; and no doubt accident must have had something to do with the extreme precision of the coincidences which we have noticed. However, the objection that our results fit *too accurately* will hardly be regarded as a set-off against the violent dislocations of Ptolemy's positions which Mr. Hills' theory requires at every step.

West of the Tamarus, as might have been expected, Ptolemy's measurements have no longer any value. His distance from the Tamarus to the Lizard (*Ocrinum*) is 3 degrees 40 minutes, equal to 2 degrees 56 minutes of our measure, whereas the true distance is only about 1 degree 2 minutes. If there be any proportion in the amount of Ptolemy's errors here, we must agree with Mr. Hills that the river Cenion (2 degrees east from Ocrinum) is more likely to be the Fowey than anything else.

I have not attempted to follow Mr. Hills minutely in the portion of his paper in which he deals with the measurements of Antoninus. As he seems to have conducted the investigation very carefully, with much local knowledge, and with an acquaintance with what has been pre-

viously written on the subject, the probability is that his conclusions will often prove valuable, so far as they are not affected by his unfortunate errors in the interpretation of Ptolemy. On two important points, however, his views are open to insuperable objection on historical grounds. One of these is the identification of Dorchester with Isca. The Saxon names of Dorn-ceaster, Dornwara-ceaster for the city, and Dornsæte (and the British Durngueis of Asser) for the people of the surrounding district, clearly connect Dorchester with Durnovaria. Equally inadmissible is the opinion that Venta Belgarum was at Havant instead of Winchester. Mr. Hills seems to think that the identification of Venta with Winchester has no authority but a conjecture of Camden's. He has forgotten that Venta is constantly used by Bæda for Winchester ("Venta quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancestir appellatur").¹ Besides, if Venta had been really close to the coast, how can it be conceived that Ptolemy would have placed it so far inland? Mr. Hills' errors with respect to Venta, Durnovaria, and Isca, of course necessitate similar errors in the identification of all the places whose position is determined by reference to that of either of these three towns.

Like most other writers on this subject, Mr. Hills has allowed himself to venture on some wild speculations on local etymology. Such notions as that Havant is a corruption of Y Gwent, that "Hantshire" is derived from Andred, or that Counos (Κῶοννος) contains the Teutonic word "ness", will certainly not commend themselves to any tolerable philologist. With regard to the last mentioned name, I may, perhaps, be laying myself open to censure by suggesting, though only as a possibility, that the true reading may be Ρῶοννος, agreeing with the Ruim, Ruiochim, or Ruioilin, of Nennius and Asser.

Although I am constrained, by the reasons above stated, to regard Mr. Hills' paper as a failure so far as most of its particular results are concerned, I willingly recognise its merit in pointing out so clearly the necessity of studying the Roman geography of Britain exclusively by the aid of the ancient authorities, without any regard to the opinions of antiquaries who have been misled by the

¹ *H. E.*, iii, 7.

authority of the pseudo-Richard, or by etymological fancies which the progress of linguistic science has long ago rendered untenable.

ON MR. BRADLEY'S PTOLEMAIC MEASUREMENTS OF THE SOUTH COAST.

BY GORDON M. HILLS.

I AM glad that Mr. Bradley's attention has been attracted to my attempt to apply the measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary to the geography of Britain, and I am further glad to say that I know by correspondence which several gentlemen have favoured me with, that the subject is attracting attention in several quarters. To arouse such attention was a principal object which I had in view.

With regard to Mr. Bradley's observations and criticisms there is very little occasion for remark. He is complimentary with reference to that part of my subject in which I have dealt with the Antonine Itinerary, and is critical and dissatisfied with my attempt to harmonise the measurements of Ptolemy. He attempts, therefore, a slightly different system, yet with very little difference in the result. I ought not, he thinks, to have computed from west to east, and he chooses to take the opposite direction himself, and gives as the reason for this choice, that the Romans were better acquainted with Cantium than with the western extremity. But really, if you are going to measure from end to end, it seems to me of no moment at which end you begin. A yard-measure will be the same whichever end you first look at. Those who think there is anything of importance in this objection of Mr. Bradley's had better take the items of my paper backwards. For my part I was quite content to treat of the places as Ptolemy himself has done, viz., from west to east.

Another objection of Mr. Bradley's is that my calculation, which shews an error of 27·7 per cent. in the measurement of Ptolemy's degrees, is erroneous in principle; and for my deduction of 27·7 per cent. he proposes to substitute a deduction of 20 per cent. Well, since Mr. Bradley, like myself, finds it impossible to apply either without frequent allowances, and without recognising the fact that Ptolemy himself had scarcely anywhere reliable information of the actual distance and bearing from place to place, the difference between myself and Mr. Bradley is really very small, and I shall make very little complaint of those who prefer his figures to mine; yet a very little arithmetical consideration will shew that his figures are wrong. The question is not what Ptolemy intended a degree to represent in distance, but what, when his degrees are applied, they actually do represent. That in the instance I have given, Ptolemy's 180 degrees cover only 130 true degrees, is not gainsaid by quoting Ptolemy's statement that 80 degrees are 40,000 *stadia*, or 1 degree 500 *stadia*.

But Mr. Bradley argues that this statement of Ptolemy's settles precisely the measure of his degree; and the matter is so simple that we

need go no further. It is certainly wonderful that this discovery has been left till now to be made. Let us see how it has happened. Ptolemy's degree is 500 *stadia*. There is no doubt he says this; but no more. What is the measure of these *stadia*, and we know all about the degree? Unfortunately it is not Ptolemy who next speaks, but Mr. Bradley himself, and he has mistaken his voice for Ptolemy's. Mr. Bradley says "there is the strongest reason for believing that these *stadia* are the Olympic *stadia*, eight of which made a Roman mile." There is a great difference between "the strongest reason for believing" and the certainty of knowing, which Mr. Bradley wishes us to substitute; and even then, if we did know, both his observations and my own shew that we could very seldom apply our knowledge to an actual measurement, as it is abundantly apparent that in applying a correction by *stadia*, Mr. Bradley has lost sight of the real object in view. I need not follow him into his further correction of his own correction, except just to remark that it is only a further error; and he appears to have bewildered himself into the belief that the minutes in a degree of longitude vary in number by departing a distance of two or three degrees of latitude. If it were *stadia*, and not degrees, we were applying, there would be something in his observation.

But after all, as I have already said, in results there is very little difference between us. Mr. Bradley's measurements convince him that the *Novus Portus* of Ptolemy is exactly at Hastings. My suggestion was that it was somewhere about Romney Marsh, and I pointed out that I arrived at this conclusion by measuring, like Mr. Bradley, from the *Promontorium Cantium*. On the map I have marked it at the outlet of the river Rother, about eight miles from the point Mr. Bradley prefers. In the text I purposely avoided a precise statement of the position, because from Hastings to Folkestone the whole coast has undergone such important changes in historic times that it must be extremely difficult to discover now where the New Port was in Ptolemy's time.

Next, with regard to the river *Trisanton* it seems that I have committed a really dreadful error, which, if accepted, must altogether destroy Ptolemy's usefulness. As Mr. Bradley's corrections of figures are not correct, I need say nothing of the accident of his selecting the river Ouse for the river *Trisanton*. He omits to state the strongest point in its favour, which is that, according to Ptolemy, the meridian of the river *Trisanton* is east of the meridian of London, whereas the meridian of my *Trisanton* is west of London. Of course, if Ptolemy's meridians were proved always to lie due north and south, and if we are bound to accept Ptolemy's figures, I must be wrong; but not even Mr. Bradley proposes to accept them in all cases. I have not transferred it very far from the district where Camden placed it; and Mr. Bradley, who complains of my revolutionary instincts, makes by many miles a much more "violent dislocation" than I have proposed. And after giving the matter all the consideration I can, I must avow a prejudice in favour of my own selection, and must refer those who will criticise both myself and Mr. Bradley to my own statement of my reasons in support of it.

Of the next place, *Magnus Portus*, Mr. Bradley's views are extremely vague. He overlooks the fact that Ptolemy regarded it as lying west of the centre of the Isle of Wight, unless it is this which makes him

desire to include not only Portsmouth, Langstone, and Chichester Harbours, but the whole Solent and Southampton Water in the designation Magnus Portus. Mr. Bradley having included so much, I must be content to find that at any rate my Magnus Portus may be a part of his. With regard to the Alannus, which I identify with the Wey, I am glad that Mr. Bradley thinks I may be right; and with the Isaca, which I take for the Axe, he is satisfied with my conclusion, and with the Tamarus the same. Further westward Mr. Bradley gives a violent shock to the authority of Ptolemy, which may, perhaps, excuse a little of my own "violent dislocations". Mr. Bradley thinks we have only to deal with guesswork in that district.

As to the inland places, Mr. Bradley cannot accept my new designations for Isca and Venta. I can only ask that his and mine and a great many other opinions which tend in various directions, may be duly considered, and hope that some satisfactory conclusion may in time be developed. What are the accepted conclusions of which Mr. Bradley speaks, it is very difficult to make a discovery; and it is because conclusions are so many and various that I have sought to bring them under discussion.

I greatly wish I had hitherto been able to lay before you what is really the first part of my work on these subjects, viz., the Roman geography of the northern counties; but I have been waiting till I could give the finish to it by testing its application on the Ordnance Map (6 inches to a mile), which, although published for the whole of those counties, are, for one in perpetual engagement like myself, very difficult of access. I shall hope to have the favour of Mr. Bradley's co-operation whenever I am about to complete this most interesting and important part of the subject. Another chapter I have long had in preparation, on the remaining central belt of England, may, I trust, some day complete my treatment of the subject.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT THE TOWER OF LONDON.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read 1st December, 1880.*)

FOR some years past Her Majesty's Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings have from time to time executed works at the Tower of London with a view to clear away all useless modern erections which obscured the ancient buildings, and to open out and restore these buildings for the purpose of preserving their archaeological features, so far as it was possible to do so having regard to the requirements of the public service. These works were commenced in the lifetime of the late Prince Consort, who took special interest in the work, under the superintendence of Mr. Salvin, who still continues to be consulted on all the material restorations ; the works being now continued under the superintendence of Mr. John Taylor, the Surveyor to Her Majesty's Commissioners, who is warmly aided by Major-General Milman, Major of the Tower, the resident military commander. The designs are, before execution, submitted to Her Majesty for her approval.

All or the greater part of these works, down to a recent date, have been noticed in the public prints, notably the restoration of the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula and the Beauchamp Tower, so full of those "sermons in stones" whose silent eloquence speaks of epochs in our national history when men, and women too, had the courage of their convictions, and witnessed with their blood the cause which they espoused. These have all passed into the pages of history, and it is not of them we now speak, but of some recent discoveries of the past and present year, of special interest from an archaeological point of view, and which have not yet been communicated for public information.

During the course of last year a range of buildings which stood against the east side of the White Tower, built, it is believed, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century,

were pulled down. The outer walls extended, on the south side, from the south-east turret of the White Tower, which forms the apse of St. John's Chapel, to an old building, the remains of the Wardrobe Tower, of the thirteenth century, and thence in a north-westerly direction, with a return-wall to the north-easterly turret of the White Tower. On the inner side there was a space between the west wall and the White Tower. At the time of their removal the outer walls were found to be of the period assigned to the building (fourteenth or fifteenth century), but the inner or west wall was of brick; and the whole building was so altered by subsequent adaptations that it presented no features of architectural or antiquarian interest, and was therefore removed, except so much of the south wall and the ruins of the Wardrobe Tower which form the north wall of the Horse Armoury, which was erected in the year 1826. It was then found that Roman tiles and mortar were worked up in the materials of which the walls of this building were composed; and at the south-east corner, adjoining the remains of the Wardrobe Tower, was disclosed a portion of a Roman wall shewing three courses of bonded tiles above the surface of the *debris* of the demolished buildings. This piece of wall is in a direct south-easterly line with the old City wall shewn on an old plan of the Tower made in the year 1597, now at the office of the Commissioners of Works, which plan shews the buildings which have been recently removed. The inference from this is either that the discovered fragment is part of the old City wall or of a Roman building. In compliance with a wish expressed at the recent visit by some of our members to the Tower, the foundation of this fragment has been opened out and inspected by Mr. Brock, who will give us the result of his investigations. If they should prove that this fragment of wall is part of a Roman building, the discovery will throw light on a very interesting moot point in early English history, whether there ever was a Roman fortress on or about the site of the present White Tower. Without accepting the veracity of the old chroniclers, it may be well to epitomise the statements made by them on this subject.

Hollingshed, in the third book of his *History of England*,¹ quoting Leland and Fabian, states that Belinus,

¹ Pp. 16-19, ed. 1586.

who with Brennus began to reign jointly as king in Britain in the year of the world 3574, after the building of the city of Rome, 355, and after the deliverance of the Israelites out of captivity, 142, which was about the seventh year of Artaxerxes surnamed Mnenon, the seventh king of the Persians, "built a haven with a gate over the same, within the city of Troinovant, now called London. This gate was long after called Belius Gate, and at length, by corruption of language, Billingsgate. He builded also a castle eastward from this gate (as some have written), which was long time after likewise called Belius Castell, and is the same which now we call the Tower of London." Fitzstephen, in his description of London, says the White Tower was built by Julius Caesar, and that the mortar thereof was tempered with the blood of beasts. William the Conqueror is said to have run up a fortress in haste, upon his first entrance into London, to secure the obedience of the citizens; and afterwards, says Stowe in his *Survey of London*, about the year 1078 he caused the present White Tower to be erected at the south-east angle of the City wall, about the very spot where the fragment of the Roman wall recently discovered stands. The habit of the Romans of mixing powdered tiles with their mortar may have given rise to the idea that the mortar was tempered with the blood of beasts.

The removal of the recent buildings has opened out the remains of the Wardrobe Tower, adjoining to, and forming part of, the north-east wall of the building now used for the Horse Armoury. Should this building, which is wholly worthless, be removed, care should be taken to preserve the remains of the Wardrobe Tower.

On removing the southern wall of the demolished buildings, it was found that it was built up to, but not bonded into, the south-east turret of the White Tower (the apse of St. John's Chapel). On removing this wall the original stonework of the White Tower, honeycombed by age, was laid bare, and still remains in that state, Sir Christopher Wren having been unable to reface it as he had done the exposed parts of the White Tower.

I now ask your attention to the Cradle Tower, which has been opened out and restored in the course of the present year. This Tower is the third on the south side of

the outer ballium wall, westward, from the south-east corner, which is occupied by the Develine Tower, the Well Tower being situate between that Tower and the Cradle Tower. Prior to its restoration, the south wall was closed up, the only apertures being two loopholes. There was nothing to indicate that it had any communication with the moat. It was used as a store for gunpowder, and was only one story in height, although it had originally a second story, no traces of which remained. The only access to the interior was on the north side, within the ballium wall. The two plans and elevations which I exhibit¹ are tracings from the plans made of the Tower for the Board of Works, after the southern facing was removed, and before the restoration was executed.

The first step taken was to remove the whole of the masonry which had been built up against the Tower when the old face of the Tower was opened out, and an arch disclosed on the south side, shewn in Plan No. 1. The two side-elevations on the plan shew the return-walls built with the southern face in the moat, extending 10 ft., and having two half-arches turned against the moat wall. The masonry which blocked up the space under the arch in the south wall and the half-arches in the moat have been cleared away, shewing that the water in the moat flowed in through these half-arches, and across the centre arch, and disclosing the wall of the moat, which is older than the Tower.

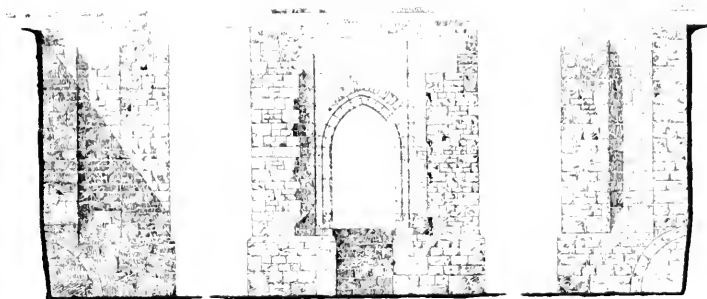
Plan No. 2 is a ground-plan of the Tower, and a cross-section of the interior chamber on the ground-floor. This has a fine groined roof of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

The works for restoring the Tower are as follows. The wall built up in the moat under the centre arch, and under the two half-turned arches, has been cleared away, and the whole of the external walls restored to their original condition; and an additional story and turret have been erected on the same plan as the old building, this tower being now intended to be used as warders' quarters. The corbels in the groined chamber, which were broken off,

¹ I am indebted for these plans to Mr. Taylor, who has placed them at my disposal with the permission of his department, and I am also indebted to him for much of the information embodied in this paper.

THE TOWER OF LONDON

THE LANGLE TOWER, PREVIOUS TO ITS RESTORATION
[AS RECENTLY DISCOVERED]



SIDE ELEVATION

FRONT ELEVATION

SIDE ELEVATION

THE TOWER OF LONDON

THE LANGLE TOWER, PREVIOUS TO ITS RESTORATION
[AS RECENTLY DISCOVERED]



SECTION A-B

PLAN

Scale of Feet 0 to 20

Scale of Feet 0 to 20

have been replaced by new ones on the pattern of an original one which remained. The space between the central arch and the moat-wall has been boarded over, and a wooden grating, after the pattern of an old doorway in the Byward Tower, has been fitted to the central arch.

The restoration of the Tower to its original condition has thrown light on the original purpose of its construction. Before entering on this subject, a further discovery in the neighbourhood of the Tower must be described. In the space between the bridge over the moat, to the east of the Cradle Tower and the Well Tower, stood a building of modern construction, used as stores for the Ordnance Department, which has lately been pulled down, leaving the foundations. Excavations have been made by the Board of Works, which have led to the discovery of a brick paving and some loopholes in the outer ballium wall, which has helped to identify this space as the site of the garden attached to the queen's apartments when the royal palace stood within the Tower walls. This palace occupied a space bounded by a line running easterly from the south-east angle of the White Tower to the Broad Arrow Tower; thence south, along the inner ballium wall, to the Salt Tower; thence west to the Wakefield Tower, and north to the south-west angle of the White Tower. A portion of this space is now occupied by the Ordnance Stores and the Control Office. Nearly opposite to and west of the Cradle Tower, on the south side of the royal palace, stood the Lanthorn Tower, the site of which now forms part of the Control Office. The queen's apartments extended from the Lanthorn Tower to the south-east angle of the White Tower, and the space recently cleared formed the queen's private garden; the loopholes in the ballium wall bounding this garden on the south, giving a view over the river.

The conclusion from these premises seems to be that the Cradle Tower was the gateway on the river side to the queen's apartments; and this derives confirmation from the following facts. The inner faces of the walls on which the centre arch stands, and which, when the moat was full of water would be covered by water, are worked and pointed as outside facing. There is a space above the arch for a portecllis, and grooves in the jambs, but not

large enough for portcullis-slides ; but in the entrance on the north or land side both the space above and the grooves shew that there was a portcullis on this side ; and the chamber on the east side has no outlet, except into the centre chamber or gateway,—the inference from which seems to be that it was a guardroom for the use of a warder while on duty at the gate. The term “Cradle” applied to the tower strengthens this view. “Cradle” is the old Saxon word *cradcl*, a movable bed;¹ and the hypothesis is that there was a hoist or lift by which a boat, after passing through the archway, was lifted on to the floor of the gateway. On comparing the groining of this chamber with that of the groined chamber in the Well Tower, the greater beauty of this one is apparent, which points to its appropriation by royalty. It is also nearly opposite the site of the Lanthorn Tower, which was the entrance to the queen’s apartments. The access to and from the Thames would be by means of the Cradle Tower into the moat, and through St. Thomas’s Tower, under Traitors’ Gate, the only outlet into the Thames.

In 1641 the Cradle Tower appears to have been used as a prison, as appears from the following extract from “A Particular of the Names of the Towers and Prison Lodgings in His Majesty’s Tower of London,” taken out of a paper of Mr. William Franklyn, sometime Yeoman Warder, dated 16th March, 1641,² as follows :—“Cradle Tower—A prison lodging, with low gardens, where the drawbridge was in former tymes.”

I regret to say that the War Office have determined to rebuild stores on the site of the queen’s garden, and in so doing to block up the loopholes in the old ballium wall. The site of the queen’s garden will thus be lost to further investigation. It is, however, beyond the power of the Board of Works to prevent this being done, and they will, I have reason to believe, regret as much as we can do the loss of opportunity for making further excavations on this site, and preserving what has already been exposed to view.

¹ Ash’s Diet.

² Harleian MS. No. 1326.

ON SOME ANTIQUITIES AT HIGHAM IN KENT.

BY THOS. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read June 2, 1880.)

A CENTURY or two ago, when to make the grand tour through Italy was the special privilege of the man of rank and fortune, he felt a pride in returning home with a store of marble antiquities wherewith to adorn his country house and sculpture-gallery; having sometimes to be content with

“Curios jam dimidios, nasumque minorem
Corvini, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem.”

Many inscribed stones thus found their way into England, which have been scattered, stored away and lost sight of, as far as the public and scientific world is concerned, in many instances. From what has been said about perpetuating such inscriptions by making them known, I have been led to inspect, and now to describe, some Roman *cippi*, or bone-chests, with inscriptions and tablets (eight in all), let into the wall of a house called “The Hermitage”, at Higham in Kent. They were brought from Italy at the beginning of the last century, and fixed at the time, where they now stand, by the architect who built the houses about 1725, for Sir Francis Head, who resided there many years, and died possessed of it in 1768.

Higham and neighbourhood are full of antiquarian interest; and, after describing the stones, I will add a few words about Higham in its connection with early history.

These marble *cippi*, and a ninth now in my possession, the gift of the present proprietor of The Hermitage, bear inscriptions and sculptures, in some cases of special interest, notwithstanding the vast number of such bone-chests, with inscriptions, which are found in our public collections, and especially the British and Sir John Soane’s Museums. Lieut. H. J. Morgan, R.N., has kindly made drawings of the Higham *cippi*, which are now exhibited.

They have been drawn to the size of the originals, and I can vouch for their accuracy.

No. 1.

TROPHIMO . AVG
A COMMENTAR
TROPHIMVS . AVG . L
FIL . PISSIMO

Trophimus, Augustan freedman by the registers, to his most dutiful son Trophimus Augustus.

No. 2.

D . M
GABERIAE IRENE
V A XL DIEB . XXV
VETVRIA NTISSIMA
LABERIA SYMPH^oR
FILIAE PIENTISSIMAE
FECERVNT

To the Gods Manes. To Gaberia Irene, who lived forty years and twenty-five days. The most affectionate Veturia and Laberia Symphronia, her most dutiful daughters, made this.

No. 3.

D . M .
C CARIS
TANI
MYRO
NIS

To the Gods Manes. In memory of C. Caristanus Myro.

No. 4.

D . M.
M . METHLIO . EROTI
M . METILIVS
AGRIPPA . PATRI
ET . M . METILIVS
EVPOR . ET .
M . METILIVS . SYMPH^oR
ET . M . METILIVS . EVPOR
TATAE . PATRONO
BENE . MERENTI . FECER
VNT

To the Gods Manes. M. Metilius Agrippa to his father M. Metilius Erós, and M. Metilius Euportates, and M. Metilius Symphronius, and M. Metilius, made this for Euportates, their well deserving patron.

No. 5.

D . M .
IVLIAE AVGE
CONIVGI . OPTVMAE
BENE . MERENTI
M . SIRTIVS . POSTVMI
NVS . ET . SIBI . PERMISSV
IVLIORVM . MALLI . LIBER
TORVM

To the Gods Manes. M. Sirtius Postumius constructed this for Julia Augusta (?), best and well deserving wife, and for himself, by permission of the Julian freedmen of Mallius.



No. 1.



No. 2.

ROMAN CIPPI AT HIGHAM, KENT.

1½ inch Scale.

No. 6.

D . M .
 LUPERCIAE
 TYCHE CON
 IUGI . DYLO
 ISSIMAE . M
 VCIVS . ZO
 TICVS

To the Gods Manes. Mucius Zoticus to Lupercia Tyche, sweetest of wives.

No. 7.

IULIA MUSA
 IULIAES . MUSAES
 FILIA
 HAEC . EST . QVAE
 HOC . MONVMENTVM
 AEDIFICAVIT

Julia Musa, daughter of Julius Musas. She it is who built this monument.

No. 8.

DIS . MANIB
 M . METILIO
 NICEROTI
 METILIA SVCCESSA
 PATRONO . SVO
 BENE . MERENTI
 FECIT

To the Gods Manes. Metilia Successa erected this to M. Metilius Niceros, her well deserving patron.

These eight epitaphs convey several interesting allusions to Roman life and manners. In No. 1 we may observe that one of the Augustan freedmen derives his patent of freedom *a commentariis*, from the commentaries or notarial documents kept in the army, in which the names for promotion in rank and service were preserved. The officer whose duty it was to keep these registers was called *commentariensis*.¹

We may compare this form, *a commentariis*, with that on a square *cippus* at Rome, which was sculptured similarly to one of those now before us, No. 8. Above was a wreath and Medusa's head; below, a marine horse; and at the corners, human heads with the horns of Jupiter Ammon. The freedman is here spoken of, *ab epistolis Graecis*, which probably meant by legal rescript or decree in the Greek language. The inscription is at Rome;² and there is another at Tarragona in Spain,³ whereon a freedman's credentials are stated as from the commentaries of

¹ Sigonius *De Jure Rom*, lib. ii, p. 349. 1574.

² Gruter, p. 587. Amsterdam, 1707.

³ *Id.*, p. 590.

the twentieth cohort, (named) in Citerior Spain; and those of a co-freedman of his (*collibertus*) as from certificates (*tabulis*) of the twentieth cohort, also named in the province of Lusitania. The part the freedmen played in the history of the republic as well as the empire is well known. Augustus imposed a tax on the sum paid to their masters for manumission, probably not only for the purpose of state revenue, but also to discourage the manumission of slaves. The mausoleum of the Empress Livia contained, when discovered, the ashes of more than a thousand of her slaves and freedmen, and probably there were more.¹

In No. 2, as well as the preceding, we have the strongest expressions used in praise of most dutiful children by their parents, *piissimò* and *pietissimæ*; and the children had reason to be dutiful, seeing the extraordinary power (the *patria potestas*) over them which was given to the *pater familias* by the laws.

In No. 4 we have an example of the fanciful surnames, often Greek, adopted on their manumission by these *liberti*. Here Metilius takes the surname of Cupid or Love; and the mention of his patron reminds us of the great power still exercised over these freedmen by their late masters, into whose family they were adopted by manumission, and they continued under the patron in the relation of *clients*.

Nos. 5 and 6 bear expressions of conjugal affection which afford an example for all time. Valerius Maximus tells us there was no case of a divorce in Rome for five hundred and twenty years after the foundation of the city. Such excellent manners had ceased to be the rule when Horace wrote:

“Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere et genus et domos.”

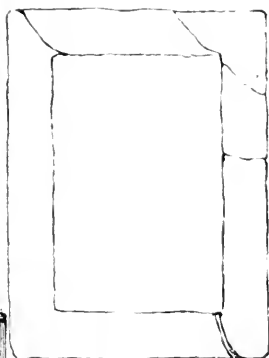
Yet the rights and sacredness of the married state did, nevertheless, command respect; and I will give from the first named author an easy method for cure of a squabble between husband and wife, which was practised in Rome. An angry couple would go together to the small temple on the Palatine Hill, of the goddess *Viripluca*, or Man-Appeaser, and there laying aside anger they talked their differences out reasonably, and returned home the best of friends.²

¹ Merivale's *Romans*, vol. v, p. 272.

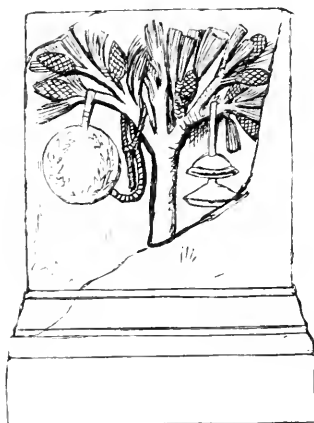
² *Val. Max.*, lib. ii, c. i.



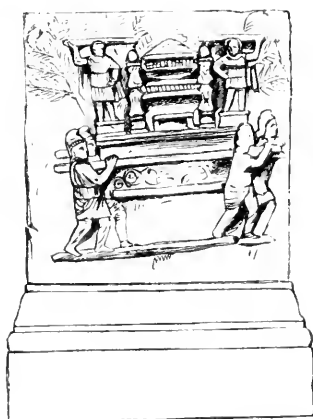
Front.



Plan.



Right Side.



Left Side.

No. 9

ROMAN CIPPUS AT HIGHAM, KENT.

1½ inch Scale.

In No. 8 the patron of Metilia bears a Greek name, the very opposite of the freedman's Cupid in No. 4, for this Metilius is called Nikerôs, or love-defeater.

And here I will close my remarks on the inscriptions, as No. 9 has none. This chest is in form a parallelogram; in width, $13\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches, having a plinth projecting $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the face of the chest, surmounted by a neat moulding with competent torus, cima-reversa, and astragal. Three of the faces of the chest are carved; the fourth is plain, and apparently stood against a wall; the corresponding front is longer than the sides. The marble forming the chest is about 3 inches thick. The front has carved upon it, in bold relief, a female figure robed and veiled after the manner of a priestess about to sacrifice. She holds in her right hand a branch, which may be of myrtle, or of box, or of laurel, and also what appears to be a sacrificial patera; in her left hand a basket of fruit; and suspended from her wrist hangs a jug with one handle, of elegant shape. On each side of the priestess are two figures looking towards her; perhaps barbarian captives. On the dexter side of the chest are two men attired in *bracææ*, and the Dacian or perhaps Gallic costume. They are bearing on their shoulders a *feretrum*, and placed upon this is a curule chair. The chair has a footstool beneath it, and upon the seat is what appears to be a basket. On each side of the chair is a female figure with short dress, and *pallium* over the shoulders. One hand of each figure is raised to hold something poised on the head. On the frame of the chair there seem to have been some letters; but I have not been able to decipher them. On the sinister side of the chest is the sacred tree, bearing on its branches many pine-cones. From one branch of the tree is suspended a circular *clipeus*, having upon it a laurel-wreath. This is a votive shield; and from another branch are suspended two helmets, in form like the Phrygian hat or *pileus*. It would be difficult to compose a more elegant and suggestive dedication than this; and though without words, the sculpture seems to appeal to the memory of a military commander killed in the hour of victory.

The covering stone of the chest is wanting.

I cannot leave Higham, where these inscriptions are

preserved, without saying a few words on this interesting locality, which in Saxon times was known as the high village, commanding, as it does, a view of the rivers Thames and Medway, and looking far into Kent as well as across the estuary of the Thames into Essex. A manor in this parish is called Higham Ridgeway; and a way has been traced from this, down as far as the Thames, to a point opposite to East Tilbury, where was a ferry across to said fort in Essex, which has communicated by road with Colchester from the earliest times. The Ridgeway as well as a bridge were in later times to be kept in repair by the Abbess of the Priory of Higham, then known by the name of Lillechurch. Her liability was proved by pleas of the Crown, 21 of Edward I. The Nunnery is now a farmhouse, a short distance east of the church. Higham Church once belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. John in Colchester, and was granted, at the instance of Matilda, Queen of King Stephen, by Hugh, Abbot, and the Convent of St. John, to the nuns of Lillechurch. King Stephen, with Matilda his Queen, in the fourteenth year of his reign, gave the manor, by the name of Lillechurch, with its appurtenances, being part of her inheritance, with other premises, to William de Ypres, in exchange for the manor of Favresham. He afterwards founded the Nunnery of the Benedictine order at Lillechurch (Tanner says in 1151), to which his daughter, the Princess Mary, as is mentioned in a deed, retired.¹ She afterwards became Abbess of Romsey. After the death of King Stephen, William de Ypres, above mentioned, was, with the rest of the Flemish (of whom he was the principal), forced to abandon this kingdom; and their estates were all seized, by which this manor came to the Crown. In 6th King John the nuns gave the King £100 for his grant of the manor of Lillechurch. King Henry III. in his eleventh year, granted and confirmed to God and the Abbey of St. Mary of Sulpice (Bourges), and to the Prioress and nuns of Lillechurch, the manor of Lillechurch in pure and perpetual alms, with all its appurtenances, and with all liberties and free customs belonging to it, and a fair for three days, on the day of St. Michael, and two days afterwards.²

¹ Willis, *Mitred Abbeys*, vol. ii, Additions, p. 13.

² Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, vol. i, p. 525.

Without pursuing speculations as to the operations of the Romans in this part of the county, and their use of the ferry before referred to, I may just extract the description of the manor of Higham from the *Domesday Survey*: "The same Adam holds Hecham of the Bishop. It was taxed at five sulings. The arable land is twelve carucates. In demesne there are three carucates, and twenty-four villeins, with twelve borderers, having six carucates and a half. There are twenty servants, and thirty acres of meadow. There is a church, and one mill, of ten shillings; and a fishery, of three shillings; and in excess, pasture for two hundred sheep. In the time of King Edward the Confessor it was worth twelve pounds, and afterwards six pounds, now fifteen pounds." In the time of King Edward, Godwin, the son of Carli and Toli, held this land for two manors. On the disgrace of Bishop Odo, about four years afterwards, this manor, with the rest of his estates, was confiscated to the Crown.

The ruins of Cowling Castle, at a short distance west of the church, call up interesting passages of more modern history. John de Cobham, the builder, was authorised to fortify the Castle in 4th Richard II. Here Sir John Oldcastle, when accused of heresy before Archbishop Arundel, refused to admit the Archbishop's messenger who had been sent to serve on him a citation to appear. Sir George Brooke, Lord Cobham, defended this Castle against Sir Thomas Wyatt in the reign of Queen Mary.¹

I must conclude this short sketch by recommending researches into the history of this and the neighbouring district of the Hoo, which may throw some new light upon the history of East Kent in Saxon, if not in Roman, times.

¹ Hasted's *Kent*.

ON WORK-BAGS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read April 7th, 1880.)

No sooner was the employment of the needle recognised as a refined accomplishment befitting the rank of high-born ladies, than baskets of more or less costly fabric were wrought, wherein to deposit the work on which they were engaged, and the various instruments and materials required in the art of stitchery.

The Greeks called the work-basket *talavros*, and Homer, in the *Odyssey* (iv, 125), attributes one of ornate silver to the fair Helen. Another name of this receptacle among the Greeks was *calathos*, whence came the Latin *calathus*. The *calathi* in ordinary use were of plaited reeds and osier, and their form is handed down to us in the paintings on ancient vases, and by different pieces of sculpture. They had round bases with sides increasing in diameter as they increased in height, and terminated in expanded mouths. They, in fact, closely resembled, in general contour and construction, the waste paper-baskets of the present day. It was a *calathus* on the tomb of the Corinthian virgin which suggested to the mind of Callimæchus the idea of the capital of the Corinthian column.

The mediæval work-basket may occasionally be seen in early illuminated MSS. and in old pictures of domestic life; and if we are to believe the *Catalogue of the Rarities at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea*, "Queen Elizabeth's work-basket" was there preserved. But our business is not now with baskets, but with bags, and to them we must speed on.

John Taylor, the Water-Poet, when speaking of needle-work, says :

"Our country everywhere is fil'd
With ladies and with gentlewomen skil'd
In this rare art."

And if the size of the antique work-bag be any indication of the industry and amount of labour performed by these

fair ladies and gentlewomen, their toils must, indeed, have been constant and excessive, putting to shame every effort of modern stitchery; for the receptacles employed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may, both for form and amplitude, be likened to sacks or pillow-cases of no mean proportions.

But there is something beyond outline and dimension that lends an interest to these aids to, and mementoes of, olden industry; for the gay, elaborate, and at times elegant, embroidery with which their fronts are adorned, are proofs of the taste and skill of the producer, and render the objects worthy of careful inspection and conservation. In a little volume entitled *The Art of Needlework* (p. 291), to which the name of the Countess of Wilton is appended, is the following account of a richly wrought work-bag of the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is stated to be “made of net, lined with silk. The material, the net itself (a sort of honeycomb-pattern, like what we called, a few years ago, the Grecian lace), was made by the fair work-women in those days, and was a fashionable occupation both in France and England. This bag is wrought in broad stripes with gold thread; and between the stripes various flowers are embroidered in different coloured silks. The bag stands in a sort of cardboard-basket covered in the same style. It is drawn with long cords and tassels, and is large enough, perhaps, on an emergency to hold a good sized baby.”

Although I cannot exhibit a work-bag of equal age or magnificence with the one above described, I am fortunate in the possession of an example which may vie with it in size; for when laid flat it measures no less than 2 feet in length, and 1 foot 5 inches in width, and is, therefore, capable of receiving “a good sized baby”. This noble looking satchel is composed of stout, twilled cotton, originally white, but now rendered somewhat yellowish by age. Both front and back are embroidered in black, white, light and dark green, light and dark blue, pink, red, and yellow crewels. The devices on the front consist of a dove and olive-branch surrounded by branches of the oak and other trees, whilst the back is powdered with ten sprigs of well executed flowers. Some few years since I examined the hangings of a bed embroidered in coloured crewels, with

devices similar to those on this work-bag, the date of which drapery is positively fixed to the reign of James II.

There was a period when it was the custom to deposit the *sampler* in the work-bag, for the sake of ready reference when *marking* was the order of the day; and some ingenious ladies went so far as to convert the sampler itself into a bag, so that they could employ it as a receptacle for their work, and profit by its teaching, at one and the same time. I exhibit a work-bag made up of the halves of two samplers, one being inscribed, "Anne Green her work, 1738." Of the letters, legends, and devices, on this quaint receptacle, I may possibly descant in a future paper. It is enough at present to say that when new, the marking and embroidery of various coloured silks must have looked bright and pretty in contrast with the canvas field. The dimensions of this homely satchel are, height, 9 inches; width, 8 inches,—a sad falling off in size from the sack-like work-bags of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties.

A writer in the *Spectator* of Oct. 13, 1714, laments with much feeling the neglect of needlework by the fair sex in his day, and makes some sage suggestions for its revival; and certain it is that from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the work-bag gradually dwindled down in size till soon after the commencement of the present era, when it became all but entirely merged in that mongrel article called a *reticule*, which seems to be a combination of the ancient gypsire and venerable work-bag. Webster's is, I believe, the first English dictionary wherein the word *reticule* is to be met with, although the object itself is represented in the hands of ladies in the fashion-books as early as the year 1806.

I will close this disquisition on work-bags by producing two specimens of Spanish manufacture, both of which might fairly claim the title of reticule from their net-like fabric. They are wrought in tasteful mode of the delicate white fibres of the aloe-leaf. The oldest of these bags has a circular, basket-like base, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, and its mouth is made to resemble a lace-edging. This was formerly in the Leverian Museum. The second and more recent example has a similarly constructed base, but of an oval form, some of the fibres composing it being

dyed blue and pink. On each side of the bag are large six-petaled flowers, and leaves of a pink, blue, yellow, and green colour, and the cord by which the mouth is closed has at its ends catkin-like tassels of white, yellow, and blue fibres. Twiss, in his *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, in 1772, speaks of work-bags made of the fibres of aloe-leaves being sold at Lisbon.

What with change of fashion, the extended employment of the work-box, and the new-fangled sewing-machines, the venerable work-bag is not simply thrust aside, but well-nigh forgotten, as if it had never been counted an ornamental and essential item in the boudoir of high and mighty dames and lovely damsels. Its glory has departed with the decay of home industry, and never, perhaps, will it regain its old place and importance; so that it becomes almost the duty of the archæologist to scan its history, and make record of its form, material, and embellishment, ere every trace of its existence has passed away.

“ Fashion, like fortune, hath its wheel
 That often takes a turn :
 So modes and forms of by-gone times
 To modern times return ;
 And stitchery, that ancient art,
 Ancient as Eve’s young days,
 May burst again from its eclipse
 In all its varied ways.
 And should such be, and maidens fair
 With skill the needle ply,
 Old work-bags with their gay device
 Once more may meet the eye.
 But little hope of such good time :
 Our maids the needle shun ;
 Work and the work-bags all forgot,
 Whilst to the play they run.”

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND AT NURSLING, HANTS.

BY DR. W. WAKE SMART.

(Read 5 Jan. 1881.)

THE following notes of this discovery by Mr. E. Cunnington of Dorchester, were communicated to me by that gentleman, and as they possess some points of considerable interest, I am induced, with his full acquiescence, to submit them to the notice of the British Archaeological Association in his own words :

“On some gravel slightly raised above the banks of the Test at Nursling are the remains of many of the early habitations of the Romans in Britain. They occur close to the line of railway, where gravel has been broken for ballasting the line, to the depth of 6 or 10 feet. When I visited this spot in August last, I found that wherever the workmen had come to these pits, they had thrown the contents back to one side, over an acre or two of ground, as unsuitable to their purpose. On searching this made surface, I found large quantities of Roman pottery; much of a common, domestic, strong make; plenty of black ware with the diamond pattern; and plenty of Samian; two fine fragments of the latter, figured,—one with a woman dancing, holding the scarf (*chlamys*) extended, a dog running in the compartment below; the compartments divided by a raised bead-pattern with rosettes at the corners;—the other piece is part of a patera of about 12 inches diameter, having gladiatorial figures, dogs running, etc.; and divided into compartments by the bead-pattern, and double rings for circles. Several coins have been found; but these I have not succeeded in seeing, except one brass. I found a small enamelled pendant, a fragment of a quern of French stone, pieces of stags’ horn, and a fragment of quite white, hard, pottery, representing the *Dea Matres*, a pretty leaf around making up the outside. These hut-holes vary much in depth, from 1 to 4 feet, and contain large quantities of ashes and bones,

burned and otherwise, generally of 3 or 4 feet circumference, and all containing throughout Roman remains."

The first point that strikes the reader is that so little should be seemingly known of a locality which is undoubtedly the site of an important Roman settlement, and that it should have been left for the good fortune of an accidental visitor to be the first to recognise this fact in the observations which he casually made, and in collecting the various relics he describes, some of them being of a highly interesting and suggestive kind, scattered abroad with the rubbish thrown on the surface of the land.

And here I would suggest a correction to Mr. Cunningham's view of the pits or depressions in which the relics were found. They are clearly not "hut-holes", but of that class of rubbish-holes which are so generally found with Roman buildings, and contain the refuse of their habitations.

The next point that occurs to me is that although this locality seems to have escaped the vigilance of local antiquaries of late years, it was not absolutely unknown, for in vol. iv, of Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, there may be seen the notice of "A Roman Steel-Yard Weight found at Nursing, Hants.", with an engraving of the object. It was found there in the year 1842, but under what circumstances Mr. Smith failed to ascertain. He eventually obtained it from Mr. Hollier of Southampton, and it is now in the British Museum. It is an admirable specimen of Roman art, consisting of the bust of a Bacchante in bronze, filled with lead, the eyes of silver, and the eyeballs had been probably of paste or stone.

The fragmental pottery presents no marked peculiarities; but it serves to associate this spot with others in which similar pottery has been found. Thus the portion of a statuette in white, hard clay, assigned by Mr. Cunningham to the *Dea Matres*, is pointed out by Mr. C. Roach Smith to be of the character of those fictile images which have been found in London and Colchester, and were unquestionably imported into this country from the manufactory in Gaul.

In volume vi of that valuable work I have mentioned, Mr. C. R. Smith has given a most admirable account of these Romano-Gaulish fictilia (the *figurines en argile*)

found in such large numbers in the neighbourhood of Moulins, on the banks of the Allier, where have been discovered extensive potteries and kilns for their manufacture. In addition to that were also manufactures of that highly glazed red ware which goes by the name of Samian, but which Mr. Roach Smith was the first to shew was imported from Gaul and the districts by the Rhine. The specimens of this kind found at Nursing are probably from the same foreign workshops as the figures, and they present no unusual types of ornament but such as are often seen on vases of that material found in London and elsewhere.¹ A small fragment of this ware, with the maker's stamp, found here by Mr. Cunningham, and submitted to Mr. Smith's inspection, was identified by him with a potter's name found in London, PRISCINI . M. This alone is an interesting fact, as pointing to a probable connection between this place and Londinium. But this will not create surprise when it is considered that Nursing is about seven miles from Bittern (the important station Clausentum), and thence in direct communication with Londinium.

This leads me to the third and chief point I have in view, viz., to draw attention to the fact that Nursing is situated on a line of Roman road extending westward from Clausentum; and I believe that the site of this discovery is that of a nameless station on that line. The information on which I ground my belief is to be found in a very valuable little work which was published anonymously in 1834, on *Old Sarum*, and now known to be the production of that most accomplished and "painfull" scholar and antiquary, the late Mr. Henry Hatcher of Salisbury. On p. 7, *op. cit.*, Mr. Hatcher, tracing the route taken by Cerdic and Ceynric after their landing at Cerdices Ore, between the Exe or Beaulieu river, and the Southampton Water, A.D. 495, supposes them to be following the line of a Roman road leading from Bittern, by Nursing, to the Isle of Wight; and to this statement he subjoins a note which has such an important bearing on this subject that I must give it in his own words: "As this" (the Roman road indicated) "is not included in the itineraries, and is now difficult to be traced, we may

¹ See Mr. C. R. Smith's *Roman London*.

render an acceptable service to the local antiquary by indicating its course. From Bittern a road ran through Nursing and traversed the Test, near the Mill, from whence it appears to have passed through the Forest in the direction of Ringwood. A fragment of it existed till lately in the vicinity of Tatchbury. From this line, and near this spot, branched off the road leading to the Isle of Wight. Its course was south-east, in the line of the present road from Ealing to Beaulieu", etc.

This is an important statement made on the authority of such an accurate observer as Mr. Hatcher. But if it were difficult to trace the road nearly half a century ago, that difficulty would be probably found greater now; but it well deserves the attention of local antiquaries. It would be extremely satisfactory to discover further indications of a *via* between Bittern, Nursing, and Ringwood.

Iter cii Antonini. A Regno Londinio MP. xevi, sic :

Clausentum	.	.	.	.	MP. xx
Venta Belgarum	.	.	.	.	MP. x
Callewa Atrebatum	.	.	.	.	MP. xxii
Pontibus	.	.	.	.	MP. xxii
Londinio	.	.	.	.	MP. xxii

It will be remarked that there is no intermediate station here between Regnum and Clausentum, and the distance as between Ringwood and Bittern is rather under than over stated; but the whole distance between Ringwood and London agrees fairly well with the Itinerary.

I have no desire to set up a rival for the capital city of the Regni, which by common consent is given to Chichester; but I simply observe that the distance between Chichester and Clausentum exceeds the distance of the Itinerary by a far greater number of MP. than the distance between Ringwood and Clausentum falls short of it. But there is this important evidence to be put into the scale, that Chichester was undoubtedly a walled Roman town, portions of which still remaining, together with other remarkable discoveries of Roman remains, prove it to have been a place of the first consideration, whilst at Ringwood there is not, as I believe, a single trace of Roman masonry, nor can I hear of any discovery of Roman relics within the memory of man, with the exception of one or

two Roman coins. This negative evidence, however, is no proof that Ringwood was never a station of subordinate note; for in the lapse of ages such evidences of early occupation may have been found and thrown aside, or they may be still buried in the soil, awaiting the explorations of some zealous antiquary. But we can hardly believe that as the capital of the Regni it would not have been a walled *castrum*; and if so, some trace of it must have still existed, judging from the indestructible character of Roman masonry.

It is not improbable that Ringwood may be found in the *Ravenna* list of place-names; and I would suggest that it may have been that *Noviomagno* which stands next in sequence to *Vindogladia*; and in that case, the next place, *Onna*, may be Nursing (Ant-Onna?) Be this as it may, I entertain no doubt whatever that Mr. Hatcher was correct in laying down a line of Roman road between Bittern, Nursing, and Ringwood; and of this I am equally persuaded, that if it did go to Ringwood, it did not stop there, but was carried on across the Avon to form a junction with the Via Iceniana at the distance of some ten or twelve miles further to the west. That point of junction I believe to be near the village of Gussage All Saints, in Dorset, about one mile south of Vindogladia. I am well acquainted with this district, and for many years have been of the opinion that there exist traces of a vicinal way from thence to Knolton and Verwood, almost in a direct line to the Avon, near Ringwood. It is obvious that the course of such a road would be strictly in accordance with strategic principles. It would bring all that extensive country in the west, known in the Norman period as Blakemore Forest, Cranborne Forest, and Holt Forest, into communication with the New Forest, the Isle of Wight, and the sea-coast, and with the south-east part of the country. It would thus add another link to that great chain of military combination and commercial intercourse by which the civilising Roman ever sought to consolidate and extend his conquests.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE LAND'S END.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.,
VICAR OF S. PETER'S NEWLYN.

(Read August 19, 1876.)

The Land's End in History.—The reason why the spot whereon we stand, the westernmost point of Great Britain, should not abound in antiquities is not difficult to discern. I imagine that in ancient days there were two main reasons which fixed population:—1. Fertility, *i.e.*, the means of living. 2. Safety, *i.e.*, the natural strength of a position. The latter, perhaps, availed more than the former, and hence we have our cliff castles, *e.g.*, Treryn; and our hill castles, *e.g.*, Castle-an-Dinas, though now deserted, marking the remains of past population.

A moment's glance will show you how neither avail at the actual Pedn-an-Case. It is now certainly, as you see, a spot of no fertility, and, from its blunted form, of not very great natural strength. Spots like Tintagel or Treryn are immensely superior to this for a cliff castle. So, probably, famed though it now is, our remote ancestors thought the Land's End a most unattractive place.

In the old histories and surveys little or no notice was taken of the Land's End. William of Worcester mentions its existence, but almost certainly never was here. He did not think it worth his while to ride over from S. Michael's Mount to see such a desolate region as this. King Henry VIII's antiquary, Leland, with an antiquarian spirit (not altogether extinct now-a-days, to judge by the grave discussion we have had in committee whether our Society ought to visit this extreme west of England) passes it over with contempt. Norden makes light of it. Carew closes his splendid *Survey of Cornwall* with a joke about it.

Perhaps in bye-gone days it was less esteemed than now, partly from the legend of a region west of this, *i.e.*, the fabled Lyonesse. I suppose I need hardly trouble this grave Society with this pretty myth, so exquisitely depicted by the Poet Laureate, of the fertile region of the

west, with its churches, its villages, its castles, lost in the deluge of the 12th century.

Still, in spite of the Lyonesse legend, we find this place mentioned in the classics. I really think here, where we stand, must be the Bolerium of Ptolemy, and that perchance Cape Cornwall (over yonder) is the Antivæstium of that writer. Even if the Romans did not care about this region, or explore it, from the land side at sea it is a very prominent object, as any one taking a voyage to Scilly must perceive.

Here, then, on yon waters, which you see at your feet, the Roman, and possibly the Phœnician ships must in ages gone by have sailed. The tin ships, more than a thousand years ago, may have passed over these waters. The fleet of Agricola, almost certainly, in their circumnavigation of Britain, must have gone around these capes. The splashing oars of the galleys, the beak of the triremes must have been once seen from where we stand. This is more than we can say of many of the now most famous ports of England.

Of the Saxon invasion little can be here said. The legend talks of Athelstan being in Buryan (which we shall soon visit) and at the Scilly Isles, on which we now look. Whether he ever was at either the one or the other some now raise doubts; however, be that as it may, even legend hardly represents him as getting to the actual Land's End.

Of the Danes there seems to be more than a legend. The neighbourhood of this spot would seem particularly suited to the hardy Vikings. Yon Sennen Cove would seem to be just the spot the old sea kings would love; so remote, so sheltered, so hidden by hills, such a capital strand to pull up their galleys on, and then for them to land and commence depredations. And so tradition represents a colony of Danes to have settled here in Sennen, whose blond hair marked them from the Celts around, and who, it is said, are still called the "red haired Danes". In many parts of Penwith, if I mistake not, the aspect of the people shows a mixture of Scandinavian blood, quite distinct from the Celtic aspect of the inhabitants of the mining districts where the Cornu-Briton is to be found. Perchance some of those Newlyn fishermen who sailed in

a common fishing boat to Australia had some of the Viking blood in them.

The Norman conquest has not much to do with the Land's End. The moors were not rich enough to be recorded in *Domesday*, though the estate of Eglosberrie, belonging to the Canons of Buryan, is there recorded.

Not very long after the Conquest we have a mysterious statement, which I submit to the consideration and judgment of the learned,—*i.e.*, the statement so often repeated in our county histories, but which I own I cannot verify, that King Stephen landed here. The story of King John's landing, on his return from Ireland, would seem more authentic, though I have not found definite evidence of it. I would just mention the following points relative to the possibility of a visit of John to these parts:—1. The strength of local tradition. To this it may be answered that John was the favourite king of the legendary lore of the past. 2. John certainly gave a charter to Helston. 3. John was connected with this county, as also his son Richard, King of the Romans, Earl of Cornwall. Around John much of our local history, authentic and traditional, gathers. Even it is thought that in Sennen a dim tradition of the Interdict lingers.

The mediæval history of this place is properly a part of Buryan. Sennen was a mere dependency on the deanery. The prebends or canons may have often ridden out on missions of mercy to the poor cottages on this wild coast, or have meditated here in face of the wild mysterious Atlantic on things of another life, as old John Wesley did some centuries later. The history of the Land's End and of Sennen is, therefore, part of the history of Buryan. It may be doubted whether these real kings of England did honour the Land's End with their presence, but it would seem that Perkin Warbeck was, either here or at St. Ives, our would-be king. If there be any foundation for the legend of the visit of a Queen to Burnulh might it not be Katherine Gordon, who stayed at St. Michael's Mount as a Queen, during her husband's campaign to Bodmin and thence into the heart of England, ending, as we all know, by his defeat, imprisonment, and, ultimately, execution. The White Rose was taken prisoner by Lord Daubeney and pardoned by Henry VII.

A little before this period, *i.e.*, the age of Henry VII, we have the building of Sennen Church, as you notice. Like so many of our West Cornish churches it was erected, as you have seen, during the Wars of the Roses.

In former times, *i.e.*, during the middle ages, an iron spire stood on the rock "The Armed Knight." It is mentioned by Camden. Some thought in the days of old it was put up by the Romans, others by Athelstan. It was most probably mediæval. A great storm in 1647 knocked it down, and a great part of the rock with it. The Cornish legend connected it with the monarchy of England, and I need hardly say that the execution of Charles the First was regarded as a fulfilment of the prophecy. These legends of certain things to last until the end of the English monarchy, *e.g.*, the Menambers, may be a witness to the secret longing of the Cornish Celts for ultimate liberation from the rule of the Saxon.

The modern history of the Land's End may be noted in a few words. 1. It was visited by Wesley, who is said here to have composed a verse of one of his hymns, beginning

"Lo, on a narrow neck of land."

He mentions it in his Journal. To Cornish men this adds to its attractions. 2. The story of the horseman riding down to the end is not without foundation. The novel of *The Wizard of West Penwith* of course is a travesty of the facts; but General Arbuthnot did ride down in this century, and the whole story is not a fable. 3. In 1864 Sennen was separated from the deanery of Buryan, and made a rectory. The church was restored as you have seen it, 1867.

I will conclude with the quaint remarks of Carew on the Land's End. "Diogenes, after he had tired his scholars with a long lecture, finding at last (as I now do) the void paper—'Be glad, my friends,' quoth he, 'we are come to harbour.' With the like comfort, in an unlike resemblance, I will refresh you, who have vouchsafed to travel in the rugged and wearisome path of mine ill-pleasing style, that now your journey endeth with the land: to whose promontory, because we are arrived, I will here sit me down and take my rest."¹

¹ *Carew's Survey*, 1602.

The Spanish Invasion.—If England was spared the violence and cruelty of the Spaniards, West Penwith experienced what the Armada meant. Let us tell that still-remembered story :—It was a fine July morning in 1595. The sun was clearing away the mist hanging over the Lizard and the blue sea. As slowly the veil was raised, far off on the deep were seen four large ships making for the shore. What were they? Were they traders laden with goods for “Market-Jew”? No, their shape is that of no trader; they are war ships. Are they then part of the English fleet laden with prey of buccaneering enterprise? No, on their banners hang the dreaded arms of Castille. The Spaniards have come at last. “The Spanish floating Babel” of the Armada had passed by Mount’s Bay in vain. The alarm had proved needless then. The Cornish levies had watched that mighty armament sail away to the eastward, but not a Spaniard had landed on British soil. The coast only had been scattered with Spanish corpses and wrecks. Now the Spaniards have come indeed. The galleys make for the western side of the bay, where Mousehole lies nestled in its valley, the most hopeful and rising of the fishing towns of Mount’s Bay. Marazion has fallen for many years from its old mediæval estate, as we have seen, thanks to the invasion of the French. Penzance has not yet risen to any position. It is but a mere fishing hamlet around the “Holy Head,” with a little chapel on the hill slope. Newlyn is not even what it is now. Mousehole appears the chief town of the bay, ready to become the capital of the Land’s End district. A pretty little port, with a fine old quay, reared, as we have seen, under the auspices of the Bishop of Exeter in the last century. The fishermen’s cottages stretch along the coast towards Penlees and around the fine mansion of the Keigwins, recently renovated. It is a little picture of peaceful prosperity, smiling in the July morn.

The Landing.—The ships make for the rocks to the west of the town, now called “Point Spaniard”, near to the fatal Merlin rock, of which Cornish legend relates the prophecy had been made, by the old soothsayer of British legendary lore. The peaceful town lies in fatal security. The cannon’s roar disturbs the peaceful scene. The

Spaniards land at the fatal spot from their boat. The skirmishers march up the hills. The scattered farms mark their progress with their fires, and the frightened villagers flee in terror towards Newlyn and Penzance. A body of the soldiery make for Paul Church-Town. The cannon of the men-of-war thundered on the town; one of the balls strikes the church tower (at least tradition says, and the ball is kept still as a relic of that eventful July morning). The troops reach the church, no one daring to oppose them, and the warriors of "the most Catholic king" set on fire the sacred edifice that Bishop Grandisson had consecrated two centuries before. The flames spread over the building, "the force of the fire being such as it utterly ruined all the great stones thereof," except, indeed, the two piers still standing on the north side of the entry of the chancel, where these ancient piers by their distinct architecture may be marked.

Taking of Mousehole.—Others march on Mousehole. The town makes, it seems, no resistance. The fishermen are taken by surprise, untrained, uncommanded. Jenkin Keigwin, the squire, does his best, but in vain; a shot kills him. What could they do against the veteran troops of Spain, then the finest in the world; soldiers who had fought, it may be, under a Parma or an Alva. Mousehole streets are suited for barricades, but the fishermen do not know how to construct them, or how to defend them when made. The roar of the cannon from the ships, the gleam of the pikes and arquebuses, the steadiness of the regular troops, the suddenness of the blow, the gloomy prophecy of Merlin, now unman them, they cannot face the foe. With their wives and little ones the Mousehole men seek safety in flight, and escape over the hills or by the cliffs to Newlyn, and thence to Penzance, leaving their homes and goods to the invader.

Burning of Mousehole.—The Spaniards (probably under the leadership of Don Diego Brochero) enter the empty streets. The houses are sacked, and everything worth moving taken. Then combustibles are gathered together. The devouring element is set to work. From house to house the flame spreads. In the hot July sun the white smoke rolls up the hill. Save one house, now "the Keigwin Arms", then the mansion of Mr. Jenkin Keigwin,

Mousehole is burnt to the ground. It never has quite recovered this blow. The smiling hopes of prosperity were finished; and it sunk into respectable obscurity, save from its associations with the expiring Cornish language, of John Keigwin and Dolly Pentreath (of whom hereafter). The granite mansion of the Keigwins alone remains a relic of the old town, and a memorial of the brave man who fought and died *pro aris et focis*, and the entry of whose funeral heads the burial part of old S. Paul register with the sad entry (rare in an English parish register) "Jenkin Keigwin of Mousehole, being killed by the Spaniards, was buried the 24th of Julie," *i.e.*, the day after the burning of the town.

Sir Francis Godolphin.—That same July morning Sir Francis Godolphin was riding down from Godolphin, in Breage, towards Marazion, to settle "some controversies in those western parts" in his magisterial capacity. As he rides along the hills, looking westward, he sees with alarm the smoke from the burning homesteads of Paul and over the blue bosom of Mount's Bay. The boom of distant cannon meets his ear. The tried soldier knows what these portents mean; the enemy have come at last. Sir Francis acts with a decision and presence of mind not uncommon in Cornishmen. He not merely sees something must be done, but at once grasps what, in the emergency, that "something" ought to be. His personal duty is clear; he must, as a Cornish knight and gentleman, advance to meet the foe and take the leadership of the poor men fleeing from their homesteads, and rally them for the fight. He hastens to Penzance and hears soon the true tale. But in a moment he sees that he must not rely on his own forces to resist those disciplined troops. Those four galleys may be a mere advanced guard of a great fleet, a second Armada, to invade old England and crush her liberties. And if they are not such, still they represent a force more than he, with the mere militia of the Land's End district, can safely despise. So at once he sends to the officers in command of the other Cornish militia companies (probably Sir W. Bevill, Sir R. Mohun, Captains Grenville, Carew, Rouse, Trevanion, Treffry, Vivian) for help. But seeing that even these, if they can come, may not be sufficient for the pur-

pose, he sends beyond the limits of the county to Plymouth, to the great admirals, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, "to send west, with all haste, what succours by sea or land they could spare."

Here we may pause for a moment to compare the difficulties of invasion in England in the latter halves of the 16th and 19th centuries. Sir Francis' messengers must have ridden from the Godolphin hills all that hot July day, upon the rough Cornish roads, till evening closed over them, and wearied out more than one horse before they brought in the evening the alarming message to the generals at Plymouth. Now, in less than ten minutes the news of foreign attack could be flashed to Aldershot and Woolwich, nay more, to Edinburgh and Dublin, nay more, to our armies in far India; and in an hour every regiment on home service might be under arms, prepared to march to their respective railway stations when ordered. It is difficult to estimate the increased power of resisting invasion given to us by our railway and telegraph system. Where it took days, it now might occupy hours. Reliefs might be sent from the garrisons of Edinburgh or from Curragh in less time than then it took to send the troops from Plymouth.

Sir Francis met the fugitives from Mousehole at the green on the west of Penzance (probably about what is now called Alexandra Terrace and Wherry Town). He counsels them to retire into Penzance and prepare to defend themselves; but as they see that they are a tolerable company, *i.e.*, above a hundred men fit to bear arms (they might have been more, only most of the able bodied fishermen would then, as now, in the end of July, be at sea, and the tinnerns were at their mines inland), their courage recovers, and they clamour to be led against the enemy to save the rest of the country from ruin. Some thirty or forty firearms are found, though, as it afterwards turned out, only some dozen of these were worth much in the battle. Sir Francis, who is unwilling to turn his back on the foe, yields, against his better judgment, and leads them forward in the direction of Mousehole, *i.e.*, to what is now Street-an-Nowan. "But while they were marching towards them, the Spaniards returned aboard their galleys, and presently removed them farther into

the bay." The reason of this action of Don Diego Brochere is not very apparent. Probably he thought the Cornish force more formidable than it really was, and was unwilling to combat with them in a broken country which they must know perfectly ; or perhaps he may have wished to take them in the rear. In any case the Spaniards re-embarked, and the galleys moved away from the shore, keeping up, probably, a fire with their cannon on Newlyn. Only recently a ball (very like the cannon ball which is shown as one of the lions of Mousehole) was dug out of the side of the hill near the Bougey, a possible relic of the Spanish cannonade. Many more may have been utilised as "old iron" by Newlyn people of the past two centuries. The Spanish galleys retired further into the bay, and then "anchored again, before and near a lesser fisher town called Newlyn." The water close to Newlyn is fairly deep, and we can fancy the Spanish fleet to have laid between the Bougey and Laregan (from their action in the next engagement).

At Newlyn the Spanish soldiers again landed, about 400 in number, pikemen and musketeers. Their skirmishers advanced rapidly up Paul hill, whence there is a splendid view of the country. It is evident they feared ambuscades. Seeing nothing except Sir Francis Godolphin's little force, they gave notice to their main body ("embattled in the slope of a hill"), which then marched through Newlyn (utterly incapable of resistance) towards Penzance. On seeing the Spanish advance upon the town, Sir Francis hastened his retreat to the Green, when the galleys opened a cannonade on the retreating Cornishmen. The result of this attack was not very creditable to the valour or discipline of the defenders of Penzance. "Some fell," we are told, "flat on the ground, and others ran away." And yet the Spanish artillery was not very destructive, for nobody was hurt, and only one constable was unhorsed, his doublet bearing shot marks (not in the place where heroes wounds usually are found). Sir Francis Godolphin did his best to rally his disordered band, giving orders to those who entered Penzance before him to make a stand at the Market Place, and himself staying with the rear-guard, taking note of the enemy's advance. When he had passed the Green (then three

quarters of a mile in extent) and reached the Market he found his followers greatly diminished. Only about a dozen men, most of them his own retainers, and having but two firearms among them, were all he could rally for defence of the Market Place. Meanwhile, the Spaniards were entering Penzance in three parts. To face with a dozen ill-armed men a whole battalion of the "finest infantry in Europe" would be sheer madness. Sir Francis Godolphin retreated before this overwhelming force of his foes, and left Penzance to its fate. As he passed eastward by Gulval the fire and smoke arose from burning Penzance, which, with its mediæval chapel, was reduced to ruins. Newlyn met a similar fate. It was fired by its conquerors, who, leaving it to the devouring element, returned to their galleys. Neither Newlyn nor Penzance, however, met, to judge by contemporary records or local tradition, any such ruin as poor Mousehole, where, it is said, only one house, the mansion of the old family of Keigwins (now the Keigwin Arms, with the adjacent buildings) was spared by the flames. It is noteworthy, however, that neither in Penzance nor Newlyn are there any mediæval houses. Both towns may have been burnt to the ground for aught we know. The old chapel at Newlyn was probably among the victims; not a relic of it remains, as we said.

Evening was now closing in. The little handful of troops that Sir Francis had led out of Penzance retired along the coast toward Marazion, where they formed the nucleus of a much larger force gathering from different parts of the neighbourhood, from the other villages of the peninsula of the Land's End district, as well as from the mainland of West Cornwall. The Spaniards retire to their ships, and Don Diego admires the work of ruin that his soldiers have wrought on that July day.

July 24.—The next day, Thursday, was very uneventful. The Spanish war ships still lay in Mount's Bay, and an attempt (whether serious or a mere *ruse de guerre*, we cannot now tell) was made for a landing "on the west side of the bay," *i.e.*, probably at Newlyn, but the Cornishmen made a firm show of resistance, and the attempt was given up. The galleys being assailed by cannon as they rode at anchor, they were forced to remove farther off.

The funeral of brave Jenkin Keigwin took place this Thursday amidst the charred ruins of S. Paul church. John Tremearne, the vicar, buried him, and on Saturday two more Paul men (who had fallen in the battle), *i.e.*, Jacobus de Newlyn (James of Newlyn) occisus fuit per inimicos et sepultus est 26 die Julii; similiter Teek Cornall, et sepultus the 26th of Julie.

July 25.—The morning of the 25th was wet and misty. A south-east wind carried the clouds over Mount's Bay, and the rain poured on the little camp of Cornishmen near Marazion. But the damp did not depress them. Better if it would continue, and the south-east wind keep the Spanish ships in the bay, for now help was nigh. Along the weary Cornish roads, over moor and through woodland and meadow, the livelong day of the 24th, the officers and troopers sent from Plymouth had been riding. It was a weary march, and the weather not very favourable. But at length they had arrived at Marazion, and with them many a stout band of Cornish militiamen. Sir Nicholas Clifford, Sir Henry Power, and other officers led the band of help from Plymouth, bringing, besides, the good news that the English fleet, under the great admiral Sir Francis Drake, was sailing for the Lizard. A hasty council of war was held at Marazion, and a plan of ambuscade was formed to induce the enemy to land, and then intercept him with overwhelming force—perhaps, on the whole, the best tactics that could be suggested under the circumstances. But Providence willed otherwise. Within an hour after the arrival of the aid from Plymouth, the south-east wind veered quite round to the opposite quarter, the mist cleared away, and the bright sun shone forth. The Spaniards at once saw their chance; they crowded sail as fast as they could, weighed anchor, and majestically swept forth into the channel.

The story grew by the telling in other parts of England. A curious MS. makes this statement, "There is come unto the seas upon the coaste of Cornewayle (*sic*) and Devonshier a fleete of Spayne, to the number of 60 sayle (!), and they have landed divers souldiers in Cornewayle, and have burnt certaine villages there." This raid may account for a few points in the decay of Mousehole, which seems never to have recovered from its burning.

The effects to Spain were not unimportant. England was roused to wrath. The British soil had been defiled by the invader's foot. A heavy vengeance is planned. The men of the West arm to execute it. One hundred and twenty-six ships are got together; 7000 English soldiers embark on them. The Earl of Essex and Lord Effingham take the command. Twenty-four Dutch vessels join. They sail from Plymouth and they make for Cadiz. The fall of Cadiz before the British seamen and soldiers is an event in European rather than Cornish history. But the Spaniards are only goaded by this heavy blow to their prestige and power. Again the alarm spreads, only two years after the burning of Mousehole, that the Spaniards are in sight off the Scilly Isles. But this time the tempest saves Cornwall from "the Dons". It seems, however, that one of the Spanish men-of-war got to Cawsand Bay, outside Plymouth, and a party of the Spanish sailors landed and tried to set the village on fire by night. But Cawsand was more lucky than Mousehole, and the plan being detected, it escaped harm, the Spaniards making off. The alarm, however, continued till 1599, and Carew gives a detailed account of the precautions then taken in Cornwall in case of an invasion by the Spaniards.

Biographical Memoirs.

MR. JOHN WINTER JONES.

THE British Museum has lost in Mr. Winter Jones, our Honorary Corresponding Member, who died somewhat suddenly at Henley-on-Thames, on Wednesday, the 7th inst., at the age of seventy-six, another link which bound that institution to the traditions of the past. From the *Athenæum*; Mr. Walford's *Men of the Time*; *The Illustrated News*, for 1866, p. 437; and other notices, we glean that Mr. Jones was the son of Mr. J. Winter Jones, who for some years edited the *Naval Chronicle* and *European Magazine*. He was born at Lambeth in the year 1805, and received a classical education at St. Paul's School. His father originally destined him for a legal career; but the well-known literary tastes of his parent probably exercised a more powerful influence over his mind than the preliminary technicalities of a Chancery law education. In April 1837, Mr. Jones succeeded in obtaining an appointment to the Library of the British Museum, and thus was a contemporary of Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities, who entered that institution one year before him, and of Mr. Bond and Mr. Bullen, who date their first appointments in the following year. Of the two latter gentlemen, the one succeeded him in the post of Principal Librarian and Secretary; the other, after two intervening officers, in the position of Keeper of the Printed Books.

Mr. Jones from his first introduction to our national library was employed, with several other assistants, upon the preparation of the new Catalogue. When Mr. Baber resigned and Mr. Panizzi succeeded him as Keeper of the Printed Books, Mr. Jones assisted considerably in the arrangements rendered necessary in connection with the removal of the immense library from Montague House, and his co-operation was found indispensable in the preparation of the rules to be laid down for the guidance of those entrusted with the construction of the new catalogue.

After occupying the position of Senior Assistant in the library for many years, Mr. Jones became Assistant Keeper on the death of Mr. Garnett in 1850. On Mr. Panizzi's promotion to the office of Principal Librarian in 1856 Mr. Jones was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Panizzi retired in 1866, and Mr. Jones became Principal Librarian on the 26th of June, an office which he held for twelve years, giving place to Mr. Bond, who received the appointment in October 1878. Mr. Jones's promotion, well earned as it was, was hailed with gladness by

every one in the department, as he had justly endeared himself both to his colleagues and subordinates by his friendliness and courtesy to every one around him. He brought the same careful, conscientious, and painstaking persistency to his new duties that had long distinguished him when he occupied a less exalted position; and it is a matter of record that he laboured most unremittingly in carrying out the great work of perfecting the national library and of keeping it in its proud and prominent position among the public libraries of the world.

Mr. R. Cowtan, a contemporary of Mr. Jones, in his *Memories of the British Museum*, published in 1872, speaking of the design and erection of the new reading room, says: "Everything was done under the vigilant eye of the originator, Mr. Panizzi, and I heard him once remark that every shelf, and peg, and pivot of the whole building was thought of and determined on in the wakeful hours of the night, before he communicated with any one on the subject. The man who, next to himself, took the greatest interest in the undertaking was Mr. Winter Jones, who was his constant companion and co-operator in the great scheme, from the day when the first rough sketch was put into his hands to the morning of the 1st May [1857], when the last workman withdrew, and the room was seen in all its freshness and beauty." In another place the author refers to Mr. Jones as a kind and courteous chief, who, while he administered with even-handed justice the affairs of the Museum, would never be forgetful of the claims of the department where he had spent all his previous official life, and the staff of which cherished towards him so much respect and esteem.

Mr. Winter Jones worked occasionally as an author and archæologist. In 1852 he edited, for the Hakluyt Society, a work entitled *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Bristol, in the Year 1852*. In 1853 Mr. Jones wrote an interesting paper entitled *Observations on the Origin of the Division of Man's Life into Stages*. It is contained in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv, with illustrations from MSS. and early block-books. He assisted with the translation of and notes for *The Travels of Nicolò Conti in the East in the Early Part of the Fifteenth Century*, in 1857. His *Guide to the Printed Books exhibited to the Public in the Grenville Library and King's Library* was published in 1858, and there are several subsequent editions of it. In 1859 a catalogue of the books of reference in the Reading Room was issued under his editorship; and many catalogues of the Museum collection were published under his auspices. In 1864 he translated, for the Hakluyt Society, the *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, &c., during the Sixteenth Century*, the notes and introduction to the volume being supplied by the Rev. G. P. Badger. To the *Journal of*

the Royal Archaeological Institute Mr. Jones contributed a notice of a palimpsest brass at West Lavington; a memoir on antiquities at Kertch in the Crimea; observations on early British relics; a memoir on early Slavonic antiquities; and one on Roman remains at Pau. Several articles in the new *Biographical Dictionary*, which was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, owe their origin to Mr. Jones. The *Quarterly Review* and the *North British Review* also were occasionally the medium of his literary expositions. For many years he attended pretty frequently at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a Vice-President.

MR. HENRY WILLIAM HENFREY.

WE regret to have to record the death, at an early age, of our associate Mr. Henfrey, a gentleman well known in numismatic circles. He was the author a Handbook to the British Coinage, and of the *Numismata Cromwelliana*. His exhaustive monograph on the Norwich Mint, as well as many other communications to the Association, will be fresh in the minds of our readers.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archaeological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of North-West Somersetshire, including those at St. Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol, by R. W. Paul, Member of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society.—The Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of Somersetshire seem never to have been chosen as a subject of any former work, and the author has therefore brought together the most striking of those in the north-west division of the county, in the hope that this apparently neglected branch of the County Archaeology may receive more attention than hitherto. In Somersetshire these memorials, to a great extent, take the place of the brasses which are to be found in such numbers in some other counties. The number of brasses here is exceedingly small, compared with the incised slabs, for the reason that plenty of good and durable stone is to be found, where-

as the counties which contain so many brasses are generally somewhat deficient in this material. But durable as this stone may be, it has had to succumb to the wear and tear of centuries, and some of these memorials no longer possess the means of telling us the names of those they commemorate and sometimes cover. For these reasons it is obvious that the sooner a list of those remaining is begun the better, as every year makes a difference, and some may disappear altogether in a very short time.

The present work is intended as the beginning of what, it is hoped, may be a valuable addition one day to the list and illustrations of the Sepulchral Memorials of the middle ages in Somersetshire. The variety of different slabs is numerous; raised effigies in high and low relief, incised figures, and raised and incised crosses are all represented in this part of the county. The work includes, roughly speaking, most of the interesting churches between Weston-super-Mare and Bristol in which slabs, such as come within the scope of the book, occur. Amongst those which occur are the effigies of the Berkeley family at Tickenham, the slab of Sir Thomas de Clevedon at Clevedon old church, the slabs at Backwell, and those at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. Upwards of forty slabs, effigies, coffins, etc., are figured in the plates, all of which are carefully lithographed from original sketches and rubbings taken by the author. With regard to the slabs at Backwell, which are described and illustrated, it may be said that, according to the author's present knowledge, it is the first time that these slabs have been noticed, or rather described, and their inscriptions deciphered. Rutter mentions them casually in speaking of Backwell church, but does not give any details; but these slabs have proved to be memorials of great interest, as may be seen by perusal of the chapter devoted to them. The slabs of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, have been included, although not strictly within the limits of the county, as they form a very fine set of examples illustrating civil and ecclesiastical emblems, such as are sometimes found on memorials of this kind.

The book will be published by Messrs. Provost and Co., 40, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C., at a subscription of fifteen shillings; to non-subscribers, one guinea.

Recent Discovery of Tumuli at Crowland.—Mr. J. Peckover, F.S.A., writing to the *Wisbech Advertiser* in August last, says:—The origin of the tumuli in the Fens was one of the subjects which occupied the attention of the British Archaeological Association during their visit to Wisbech in 1878. Under their auspices a committee was formed to excavate the two examples situated on Mr. Sharpe's property, in the parish of Leverington, and their report led to the conclusion that they

could not be of later date than the Roman Bank in their immediate vicinity, as their foundations rest on a sea beach, and the soil had accumulated round them to the depth of three or four feet.

These views of their pre-historic origin have received remarkable confirmation from the discovery of a series of tumuli in the neighbourhood of Crowland Abbey.

The earliest record of the existence of tumuli in the Fens is in connection with that venerable monastery, for St. Felix, who flourished about A.D. 730, tells us in his life of Guthlac (the text of which has lately been edited by Mr. W. de Gray Birch), that in that island (Crowland) there was a tumulus, which had already been opened by treasure seekers, who had left in its side a considerable hole. His words are:—*“Erat itaque in predicta insula tumulus agrestibus glebis coacervatus, quem olim avari solitudinis frequentatores lueri gratia illic acquirendi seindebant defodientes, in ejus latere velut cisterna inesse videbatur.”* The poetical version in Anglo-Saxon, of the same life, further tells us:—*“That spot of land was hidden from men till that God disclosed the mound in the grove where the builder (Guthlac) came, who there reared up a holy home.”*

The tumuli recently discovered agree, as will be seen, in a striking manner with the mound above referred to, and seem calculated to clear away the doubt that has existed in the minds of some antiquaries, as to the correctness of the statement of St. Guthlac's biographer. The indirect cause of their being brought to light were the disastrous floods of last autumn. The upland waters rose in Crowland Wash to such a serious extent, that in places they poured over the banks, threatening to inundate the surrounding district, and were only held back by the untiring energies of the officers of the North Level. To avoid the recurrence of so great a danger, the Commissioners determined to raise the Crowland bank of the Wash for a considerable distance, and for that purpose purchased a portion of land close to the town of Crowland, which at a former period had been an open common. Their object being to remove the superincumbent clay of two to three feet in depth, for the purpose of forming with it the needful addition to the bank.

Until this time the only tumulus known, and that was open to doubt, was “Anchor Hill”, the original home of Guthlac. A small rise in the Wash, long called the “Milking Hill”, and close to the new excavations, is now supposed to be another. Before the field was excavated the foreman of the works noticed a slight elevation in one part, which was in fact the remnant of the largest of the tumuli, but did not especially attract attention, and it was not until the works had proceeded too far to preserve it that the Commissioners became aware of its true nature; but the following particulars of their discovery, courteously

afforded by the Chairman, Mr. H. E. Watson, by the foreman of the works, and by Mr. A. S. Canham, who has taken special interest in the antiquities of Crowland, may be acceptable.

Three tumuli were found in the field excavated by the Commissioners, two of which had completely disappeared, and the third, as mentioned above, was hardly noticeable. The men in digging came upon a distinctly different soil, containing several layers of ashes, which proved to be these artificial mounds resting upon a sandy foundation, in a similar manner to those at Leverington; the depth of clay removed to reach this surface being two feet nine inches. The largest barrow was 66 feet in diameter, and on the north-east side, about 10 feet from the outer edge and near the base, was discovered a rude urn filled with calcined human bones. This is in the possession of Mr. H. E. Watson, and is formed of the rudely-burnt pottery made from the shelly gault of the district, being of a reddish colour. Near to it was lying a bronze implement resembling a hammer, also the tusk of a boar and numerous flints, some of which appear to have been manipulated. On the top of the urn was a conglomerate of bones, stones, and ashes, these were lying in the foreman's yard. Near to this urn, and chiefly in the hollow that had been originally formed round the base of the mound, was discovered a collection of curious and, perhaps, unique implements made of the same rude pottery, the use of which it is difficult to determine. They are mostly broken, but appear to have been originally from six to eight inches long. They are pointed at one extremity, with a projecting head at the other on one side, being from three-quarters of an inch to an inch square. They may have been used during the burning of the body. The two other tumuli lay in a southeasterly direction, and urns of a similar nature were found in each of them. Resting on the sandy beach on which the mounds are built was a layer of peat, and in this were found the roots and trunks of large trees, from two to three feet in diameter, which had fallen, and appear to be oaks that must at one time have formed a grove round these sepulchres, singularly confirming the words of the Anglo-Saxon chronicler.

In addition to the tumuli already mentioned, Mr. A. S. Canham has observed traces of another in the same field as "Anchor Hill", and it is worthy of notice that these two, the Abbey, and the group now discovered, lie in one line. There is also evidence of a further barrow about a mile away, in Borough Fen. Besides the more ancient relics the workmen came, at a higher level, upon two busts of gothic figures, one of a female, which had evidently been portions of the ornamentation of the monastic buildings, thus confirming the fact of the gradual accumulation of the soil in the Fens, which in this case had in the course of ages all but obliterated a group of three tumuli.

As a further instance of this growth of the soil, Mr. Canham has a well-preserved specimen of Marsh Grass, dug up in the centre of the town from a depth of seven or eight feet. The first four feet was, however, of comparatively recent date, consisting chiefly of broken masons' rubbish. Beneath this was a thin turf, then the clay or shelly gault, above mentioned, next a layer of turf with hazels, nuts, etc., agreeing with the stratum in which the oaks round the tumuli were found, and under this a layer of fine sand, quite black with a thick bed of mussel shells, below which, again, was found the sward of marsh grass above referred to.

Roman Lancashire.—Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, of 39, Plumptre Street, Liverpool, has undertaken to publish his work on Roman Lancashire by subscription, with the view of bringing together many scattered records of discoveries of Roman antiquities in that county; and proposes to engrave every article of interest now extant, including altars, tablets, miscellaneous inscriptions, rings, fibulae, and other minor articles. The roads will be particularly dealt with, as it is important that as much light as possible should be thrown upon the Roman Itineraries. The fact of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus passing through the county, renders it necessary to enter at length into the question of the sites of the stations upon it. A map of the county, shewing the course of the roads and their nature, marked with the site of all discoveries large or small, and the position of the various stations, will accompany the work. The destruction of the remaining vestiges of the Roman era, which proceeds almost daily, forms a convincing argument as to the necessity for a work of this nature. The total obliteration of Roman Manchester is an instance of this destruction, and a plan of the station, drawn from old maps, is the only means of preserving to posterity the identification of the site. The numerous hoards of coins found in the county will also form a subject of enquiry. Much new information has been gathered from MSS.; and of several of the inscriptions photographs have been specially taken, with the view of obtaining absolute correctness upon epigraphic points. The woodcuts of the articles engraved will be introduced amongst the text, in the same manner as in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

The Book of British Topography, a Classified Catalogue of the Topographical Works in the Library of the British Museum relating to Great Britain and Ireland, by John P. Anderson, of the Library, British Museum. (W. Satchell and Co. 1881.)—The scope of this work is represented more justly by its first title "The Book of British Topography", than by the longer description by which the author modestly limits it. One would

naturally assume that, if in anything, the national library would approach completeness in the literature which concerns what may be called the private history of the country; and, although a detailed scrutiny will disclose omissions, it is not likely that very much will have to be added to this catalogue of "nearly 14000 books" which Mr. Anderson offers us. The compiler has, therefore, not only done a great and lasting service to that infinite crowd of "antiquitarians" (if we may adapt Milton's word to the minor ranks of antiquaries) which ransacks the Museum day by day for all the odds and ends of local and family history; he has also made a solid contribution to bibliography, arranged with admirable method and nearly exhaustive within the lines which the author has marked out for it.

Mr. Anderson has gone beyond the mere taking down of titles obviously relating to topography. His long experience in a library has made him familiar with the manners and customs of authors, and he has been indefatigable in hunting up books that, on the face of them, bear no trace of their topographical contents. Thus under West Tarring, Sussex, we have not only Warter's *Appendicia et Pertinentiæ*, which interprets itself as "Parochial Fragments relating to the village", but also the same writer's book *The Sea-Board and the Down, or my Parish in the South*, which looks more like a novel. The minute knowledge of books shewn in such instances, of which we have observed not a few, is equalled by the range over which the titles contained in this volume extend. Besides actual books on topography we have an infinitude of articles in periodicals and in transactions of learned societies. We would specially draw attention to the care with which the monographs on architectural and kindred subjects are collected.

Mr. Anderson apologises for not having given us the Poll-Books, which might have a bibliography of their own; but if we have any complaint to make it is that he is too copious. Columns of directories and local guides, in all their editions, are necessary to a catalogue of the British Museum; but, perhaps, they needlessly swell a list drawn up in the interests of bibliography. This is a fault on the right side, and Mr. Anderson has probably acted prudently in keeping to his strict purpose of furnishing a classified catalogue of the department of the British Museum library to which he has been specially devoted. Another criticism is of greater importance. Mr. Anderson does not seem aware that the pamphlet of former days took the place now occupied by circulating-library-volumes, and that, in mainly excluding the former, he is unfairly increasing the preponderance of the modern local *ephemeris*.

In a work so painstaking and so valuable as the present it seems ungenerous to insist on omissions. We will only notice two little

books of the same time relating to the condition of England, and especially of London; one is the entertaining *Mémoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre*, 1697 (which only appears here under the date of its English translation), and the other, Georges Le Sage's *Remarques sur l'Angleterre*, 1715. Such works are the more indispensable in a classified index, because they are not written by professed topographers or travellers.

An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language. By JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. Vols. i-iii. (Paisley: Alexander Gardner.) Archaeology in its widest application may be divided into four great sections: 1, prehistoric and anthropological; 2, arts and sciences; 3, manners and customs; 4, language. It is to the last of these classes that Jamieson's *Dictionary* belongs. In the language of any race we find enshrined, if we look with discrimination and intelligence, a large number of instances which elucidate abstruse archaeological points; and archaeology in its turn illustrates many an obscure term or phrase which without the aid that the study of antiquity affords would be absolutely inexplicable. This laborious work, now rapidly approaching completion in four large quarto volumes, has performed for the student of the ancient and modern language of the Lowlands of Scotland a task which not only compares advantageously with the labours of Du Cange upon the Latinity of mediæval times, and the great lexicographical work of our Vice-President, Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, on archaic English; but in some respects may be said even to surpass them for the copiousness of its quotations and explanatory extracts, and for the extensive scope of its literary field.

The circumstances which led to the compilation of the *Dictionary* are of interest. It is just seventy years, we are told in the prospectus, since the first edition was published in Edinburgh by subscription. Twenty years previously a learned Iclander, Grim Thorkelin, Professor of Antiquities at Copenhagen, who during a visit to Scotland recognised in colloquial conversation many purely Gothic terms, had urged Jamieson, then a minister at Forfar, to note down remarkable and uncouth words. The task proved a thoroughly congenial one. It was undertaken by the right man, and at the right time. The notes grew into a work which forms the basis of the present elaborate edition, and the publication proved to be a marvellous success. Students of Scottish literature received the *Dictionary* with avidity, and aided the lexicographer so materially with contributions that in a few years he was enabled to produce two additional volumes as a supplement to the original work, and accomplished his undertaking so thoroughly and so well that the work may be said to have furnished the basis and the substance of every extant Scottish dictionary or glossary.

The gifted author fortunately lived while the Scottish tongue was still a living language in the mouths of his countrymen. Those manifold causes which comprise the progress of human influence, good or bad as it may be, over the world, had not then begun to operate very powerfully upon Scotland, obliterating, as they do now, old landmarks; destroying or altering local customs, many of which had survived from times prehistoric; and banishing peculiarities of Scottish speech to give way to the common tongue of Great Britain. If languages cannot survive the onward march of national progress, much more must the diversity of dialect and local phraseology give way before so irresistible a power; but Jamieson and his editors, Dr. John Longmuir and Mr. David Donaldson, have worthily preserved in their work every single point of importance, however minute, shewing the affinity of Scottish words to those of other languages, and especially the so called Northern Group, explaining terms which, though originally common to both countries, survived in Scotland long after they had become obsolete in England, and elucidating national rites, customs, and institutions, in their analogy to those of other nations.

The *Dictionary* may truly be said to be no dry collection of mere words. It is rich in humour and antiquarian lore, and abounds in happy illustrations of old manners and customs. Probably the whole text of Burns' works, and by far the greater part of other older writers, might be gleaned from its pages. To the rising generation of Scotchmen, we are told, the vernacular of last century is a tongue as foreign as that of France or Germany, and almost as unintelligible as Anglo-Saxon is to an ordinarily well read Englishman, and calls for special, and not always available, aids to its study. To properly understand Shakespeare's language is, perhaps, sometimes a difficult task; but to grasp the true meaning of the many words found in the works of Dunbar and Lindsay, Burns and Ramsay, is far more difficult, and indeed desperate, without such aid as Jamieson offers. Even Scottish documents of a comparatively recent period are full of obscure words and phrases, the explanation of which requires a considerable amount of research. To students of this class of literature, enlivening and instructive as it is when properly appreciated, the *Dictionary* will not be found an unwelcome help.

Not the least important features of the *Dictionary* are the dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language, an elaborate treatise which every philologist and antiquary should read; and the list of works from which quotations have been gathered. To these we hope there will be added in the forthcoming volume a chronological list of Scottish literary compositions which have contributed their treasures of linguistic lore to this valuable *Dictionary*. A catalogue of authors and their productions, arranged in order of date, would be of the greatest

utility, both for reference and comparison, to those who are anxious to gain the greatest information from its pages.

Doncaster Charities, Past and Present, by Charles Jackson. (R. White, Worksop.)—This is a very useful book to later antiquarians who study the parochial history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; and the numerous pedigrees and references to members of Yorkshire families make it an indispensable assistant to the genealogist. With remote antiquity naturally the charities of Doncaster have not much to do, but a few of them reach back to the fifteenth century. The author gives a more or less detailed account of upwards of fifty charitable institutions connected with the town of Doncaster, which was visited by the British Archaeological Association in 1873, during the Sheffield Congress. The portraits of benefactors and the texts of original documents which bear upon the history of the respective foundations, are prominent features in this work, which will repay perusal, as it is well written and carefully edited. The style of printing and general appearance of the work reflect credit on Mr. White, of Worksop, the printer and publisher, some of whose handiwork we have already had occasion to bring before our readers.

St. Giles, Edinburgh.—In the course of the restoration of St. Giles, an arched recess, eight feet high, seven feet wide, and two or three feet deep, has been discovered in the north wall of the Albany aisle, opposite the centre pillar. The Albany aisle was built by the Duke of Albany and the fourth Earl of Douglas in expiation of the death of the Duke of Rothesay, in Falkland Castle, in A.D. 1402. The shields of Albany and Douglas appear on the centre pillar. The fine moulding of the thirteenth century which surmounted the recess is more than half destroyed. Dr. Chambers has ordered the exact restoration of the moulding where it is deficient, and intends placing within the recess a recumbent figure, in white marble, of the Duke of Rothesay. Until lately the Albany aisle has been practically lost, but the pews and gallery have now been removed.

The Crypt of Canterbury: its Architecture, its History, and its Frescoes. By W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Honorary Canon of Canterbury.—The Cathedral of Canterbury, although it was visited during the infancy of the Association (now nearly forty years ago), would well repay another official inspection at our hands; and when that takes place, the crypt with its beautiful architectural details, many of which have been figured by Canon Robertson in this work now under notice, and with its remarkable frescoes of the twelfth century (here reproduced in colours at a great expense), will, no doubt, take a prominent place in

our gatherings. The work is written in a conscientious and thorough manner ; every detail has formed the subject of the author's own investigation and research, and thus it may be looked upon as a really exhaustive monograph upon an architectural relic of an important character in the history of English ecclesiastical art.

Lichfield Cathedral.—Our Associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine, has lately published a very excellent plan of Lichfield Cathedral, shewing the sites and dates of all the ancient and modern monuments, the approximate dates of different parts of the Cathedral, its dimensions, etc. Mr. Irvine says : “ The spectator standing in the interior, at the west end, will see that the Cathedral is not in a straight line, but is deflected considerably northwards at the east end. He will also perceive that it is not built in a straight line from east to west. There are, in fact, not less than six strongly marked deflections between the extreme west and extreme east of the building, corresponding, for the most part, to the different periods in which it gradually reached its present dimensions. The amount of the deflection at the extreme east of the apse is shewn to be about ten degrees north of east.”

The ancient Church of St. Nicholas, Stretton, co. Rutland, is undergoing much needed repairs, under the care of J. Fowler, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Louth. The W. gable and N. wall of the nave had to be taken down, being considerably out of the perpendicular ; but they have been re-erected with the same stones. The E. wall of the chancel had to be similarly treated ; and the entire roofing had to be new. The Early English arcade had also to be taken down and rebuilt. The earliest part of the church dates to about 1080, and the most modern portion is the Jacobean south transept. The church has also a N. transept and a N. aisle. The work of restoration was begun in January last, and £1,220 has already been expended ; but at least £300 more is required. Donations, however small, would be thankfully received by the Rector, the Rev. Edward Bradley, Stretton Rectory, Oakham (who is known in the literary world as “ Cuthbert Bede”). The patron of the living, Lord Aveland, has given £500 ; and among the donors are the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Caroline Duchess Dowager of Cleveland (who was baptised in Stretton Church in the year 1792), Lord and Lady Francis Cecil, Hon. Mrs. G. Tryon, Hon. Miss H. D. Willoughby, W. Cunliffe Brooks, M.P., the Dean of Stamford, the Rev. E. Bradley, etc.

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ON THE WEST SAXONS IN WILTSHIRE.

BY T. MORGAN, F.S.A. V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read at Devizes in August 1880.*)

I ENDEAVOURED at our last two Congresses to trace the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk: an attempt will now be made to say something of the *Geurissens* or the West-erners in the county of Wiltshire. This term seems to have been used in opposition to that of Easterlings, just as on the continent of Europe the Eastern Goths were opposed to the Visigoths, Wisigoths, or Western Goths.

It will be convenient to go back to Roman times in order to follow the gradual formation of the great kingdom of Wessex and its vicissitudes up to the reign of Egbert, when it swallowed up the other smaller kingdoms, and a united England was the ultimate result. If I say little about the prehistoric Belgian tribes and earliest British history, it is that everything has been said upon the subject which is either known or conjectured; and this paper will be limited to the attempt at directing attention to the people and events by which the kingdom of Wessex was built up, without going back to history before the Romans. "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*", said Tacitus, and I fear the converse will prove equally true, that what we know something of is not so magnificent as what is more obscure and remote.

I will, in the first place, tentatively introduce a scheme lately put forward as to some stations of the *Itinerary* of

Antoninus, which, as it has sprung from more than one thoughtful brain, backed by plausible interpretations of ancient authorities, may claim at least a patient hearing, even if some of the theories should run counter to the preconceived opinions of many, and be disallowed.

Our late palæographer, Mr. W. H. Black, was the first to fix Havant as *Venta Belgarum* instead of Winchester, where former antiquaries since Camden had placed it. He also shewed that Wareham lay at an equal distance between the North Foreland on the east and the Lizard promontory on the west. He considered *Vindogladia* to have been at Winchester. Mr. Gordon M. Hills,¹ concurring in this high authority on Roman mensuration, has set out the four roads which radiate from Havant as follows :²

1. Eastward to Cissbury, the capital of the kingdom of Cogidumnus, through Chichester (*Clausentum*).

2. North-easterly, by Haslemere in Surrey (*Calleva Atrebatum*); Pointers (*Pontes*) to London.

3. Northward by Alton (*Vindomis*) to Silchester—*Calleva* of the Segontiaci.

4. Westward, by Titchbourne (*Briga*), Bittern (*Sorbiodunum*), to Winchester (*Vindogladia*); thence to Romsey (*Durnonoraria*) and Wareham (*Moridunum*) to Dorchester (*Isca Dumnoniorum*).

Upon these four ways leading from Havant, I may remark that the modern name of the place itself seems to contain in its last syllable the Latin word *Venta*, though too much importance must not be given to verbal coincidences. There is *Venta* of the Iceni in Norfolk, and *Venta* of the Silures in South Wales; and if we take it to mean the trading town of the natives, we may infer that at Havant the Belgæ trafficked with the Roman army, and brought thither on their market-days (*nundinæ*) corn and other vegetable as well as mineral products, and native manufactures.

As to the road eastward to Cissbury, it will be seen

¹ He quotes the exact measurements of Captain Graham Hills in *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 296. From North Foreland to Wareham, 140 miles; from Wareham to Logau Rock, 139; total distance from North Foreland to Logan Rock, 280.

² See the whole scheme of Mr. Hills in *Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 271 et seq.

that the great fort near Worthing, which in early Roman times might have been the capital of a tributary king, is just such a position as would have been selected for dominating the country round, and such as would be afterwards retained by the Romans as the best strategical point on the coast.

As to the road No. 2, on its arrival at London it continues in a perfectly straight line to Dunwich (*Sitomagus*) on the Suffolk coast; and this direct road from Havant to Dunwich runs as nearly as possible at right angles with the Watling Street, which connects Richborough (*Rutupia*) with Chester, the headquarters of the twenty-second legion.

As to road No. 3, it runs to Silchester, that central station which was connected with Bath (*Aque Solis*) and *Iscæ Legionum*, the headquarters of the twentieth, at Caerleon in South Wales, on the west, and by the navigation of the Thames river with London on the east.

The western road, No. 4, from Havant was all-important for communication with the Portsmouth arm of this three-fold series of harbours; and the situation of Winchester was a good one, between these harbours and the commodious port of Wareham, further west, and the great camp of Dorchester, the headquarters of the second legion.

The only roads of the *Antonine Itinerary*, which cut Wiltshire, are the 13th, coming down from Cirencester in a south-easterly direction, through Cricklade, proceeding to Speen and Silchester; and the road, No. 14, from Bath to Silchester, which almost bisects this county from west to east; by *Verlucio*, near Calne; and south of Lacock, through Silbury Hill, Marlborough, and Hungerford, to Silchester.

Other Roman ways marked upon the Ordnance Map are either not connected with that system of military roads which alone are indicated on the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, or are of later date. Thus a road seems to lead directly to Silchester from Old Sarum, another from the latter fortress to Winchester, and westward from Old Sarum is a straight Roman road towards the mineral country of the Mendip Hills, and probably served to bring down the mineral wealth of that district for shipment at the great port of Southampton.

Without going into the evidences which Mr. Gordon Hills has given, I will for the present purpose assume his identification of the places to be correct, and upon this assumption will place together a few actions in history which tell upon the neighbourhood of the places in question, in order to consider how far these corroborate or otherwise Mr. Gordon Hills' scheme; and before proceeding to the historical portion of the subject, a few remarks on the territories of the British tribes in these parts may, perhaps, assist the investigation.

Even if we abandon Ptolemy's latitude and longitude as not based upon chronometrical observations at each place, we must still suppose that his figures were founded upon the best and accepted measures of the day by the Roman *agrimensores*. We have, in fact, little more than his writings to guide us to the territories of the tribes and their capital towns. Thus, let us take the Attrebates, whose town he gives as *Nalua*, generally accepted as *Callera Attrebatum* of the *Itinerary*. Mr. Hills places this at Haslemere in Surrey, and distinguishes it from the *Callera* of the Segontiaci, appropriated by general consent, in which Mr. Hills also concurs, to Silchester; but *Nalua* of the Attrebates, Mr. Hills carries as far north as Aldchester in Oxfordshire, disagreeing with Camden, who limits their territories to the south of the river Thames.

Ptolemy says that below the Attrebates and Cantii lie the Regni, whose chief town is *Neomagus*; and this is placed by Mr. Hills in the hundred of Easewrith, or the adjoining hundred of Horsham, in Sussex, the county which seems to be conterminous with the territories of this people. On their coast Ptolemy has the New Port (*Norus Portus*), which Mr. Hills would fix at Rye, the western boundary of Romney Marsh; the Regni thus occupying the whole coast from Rye on the east to Chichester on the west. If the derivation of a word may be trusted, and seeing that many of our names were of Greek origin, the *Πύρροι* of Ptolemy may come from *Πύρρις*, a sea-beach on which the sea *breaks*,—a description which well suits the coast of Sussex. Cissbury Camp, near Worthing, would suit the principal town of the Regni, which could not have been at Ringwood in

Hampshire, as shewn in a paper by Dr. Wake Smart in describing some antiquities found at Nursling, Hants.

Below the Dobuni, a tribe in Gloucestershire, whose chief town was *Corinium* (Cirencester), were the Belgæ with their chief towns, *Ischalis* (Worle Hill), *Aquæ Calidæ* (Bath), and *Venta Belgarum* (Havant). Their territories are not easy of demarcation. They ran probably across from the Bristol Channel down to the head of the Trisanton ports in Hampshire, and from the Parret on the west to the confines of Surrey and Sussex on the east. Then to the west and south of these were the Durotriges, occupying the lower parts of Wilts and Dorset as far as Wareham (*Dunium*), and they probably swayed the Isle of Wight. The Dumnonii, who dwelt in Cornwall and Devon, are brought by Mr. Hills as far eastward as Dorchester, which he considers to be *Iscæ Dumnoniorum*; and Maiden Castle, a fortress two miles and a half below it, the station of the legion, instead of placing this at Exeter, where it had heretofore been fixed by most antiquaries.

To limit the *Itinerary* towards the west, by stopping at Dorchester, and thus leaving out Exeter, need not excite the ire of western antiquaries. There is plenty of evidence to shew that Roman roads led into Devonshire and down to Cornwall, and the antiquities of both counties afford ample proof of their occupation by the Romans at an early period; but we must remember that the *Itin. Ant.* was simply a road-guide to the military positions, and had special reference to the correspondence with the roads on the Continent, and the shortest passages across the sea, which then were by Richborough (*Rutupiæ*) and Wareham or Southampton.

Without saying that Mr. Hills has altogether proved his case, the preceding remarks may not unreasonably be made in favour of it; and the break down of *iter* XII, in which this and *iter* XV are confused together, further assists in clearing away doubts, for it has certainly been made clear that the two roads so numbered have been tacked together by a clerical error. The first part of Route XII is a simple road from Carmarthen to Wrochester: and the latter part of the same *iter* is exactly the same as *iter* XV, having really no connection with the former; and this being so, many a fanciful theory irre-

concilable with the true bearings of the places is dissipated.

The transition from purely Roman times to those which follow is both abrupt and obscure as handed down to us in written history; but as taught by archaeological remains, not so much so. Out of the five hundred years which Roman rule included, no less than three hundred, at various intervals during that period, are absolutely without any record of Britain by the Roman writers. We must be satisfied then to glean something during the two hundred years which are in some manner reported, of the cluster of ports from which was the shortest passage to France from this part of the coast. The word "Anton", which enters into the composition of so many names in Hampshire, may possibly have sprung from the surname of Antoninus, first adopted by Titus with the epithet of "Pius"; perhaps when Trisanton was selected as the port of landing, and when the *Antonine Itinerary* was composed. His command, with that of L. Verus and Marcus Aurelius, known as the rule of the Antonines, embraced a period of forty-two years (138-180), in which the empire enjoyed unwonted prosperity, in some measure shared by the Pro-Prætor in Britain, Lollius Urbicus.

The pro-prætors and generals in Britain, under Nero, Vespasian, and Hadrian, who had preceded him, had done much to civilise the people by adorning the towns with buildings of taste, and for uses which contributed to the public welfare, as baths and theatres, temples, villas, *fora* and *comitia*; and many relics of these, or of successive buildings on their sites, have quite recently been found at Bath, Verulam, Lincoln, Winchester, and elsewhere; not to speak of those of which Wiltshire may boast, and the several remains found of late years in the Isle of Wight, and notably that recent example of a villa at Brading. Great military roads had been completed and fortified ("*viæ operibus maximis munitæ sunt*") in the time of Vespasian. Severus and his two sons, in their reigns of twenty-four years (193-217), endeavoured to rival the skill of the Antonines while adopting their auspicious surname; but every repetition of the centenary jubilee, when the secular games were celebrated, marked the downward course of the Roman empire. Severus cele-

brated these games in A. U. C. 957, or two hundred and twenty years after they had been instituted by Augustus (“*undenos decies per annos*”); and the next celebration was under Philip the Arab in A. U. C. 1000, or A.D. 247. But what mighty changes had taken place in the interval! The provinces came to elect emperors according to the good pleasure of the army, and posted up the names of their new favourite on the milestones throughout the military ways, destroying at the same time the name of the preceding emperor. (“*Munivere militaribus ac pene barbaris viam in se ac posteros dominandi*”).¹ Relics of these revolutionary times are the milestones found at Bittern, near Southampton, recording the names of Gordian the Younger, 238-244; Gallus and Volusian, 252-254; Tetricus, 267-272; and Aurelian, 270-275; and as shewing the intercommunication at this time with Gaul from this southern coast, there is a coin of Postumus, usurper or emperor there, 261-268, bearing on the reverse EXERCITVS YSC, which seems to imply the co-operation of the second legion in Britain, quartered at Isca Dumnoniorum. There is also in the British Museum a Roman enamelled vase found at Ambleteuse in Normandy, on the coast, containing coins of Tacitus, 275-276. The end of this system was that Britain chose Carausius emperor in 290, who defied the Roman emperors Diocletian and Maximian during a period of seven years; and his successor Allectus did the same for another three, till Asclepiodotus, the Prætorian Præfect, killed the tyrant, and re-asserted the majesty of Rome. It was in Southampton the battle was really fought, for here the fleet of Allectus was moored; and Constantius sailed further west to Dorchester, where he won over the second legion; and the arrival of the fleet of Constantius at *Rutupiæ*, on the Kentish coast, was hailed by the troops there as the deliverance from a tyranny.

During the fourth century the disorganisation, under the successors of Constantine the Great, made further progress, and the disintegration of society threatened to be complete when Honorius and the degenerate namesake of Constantine lost it altogether. It is noteworthy that Gratian (367) was the last emperor who bore the title of

¹ Aur. Victor., *Probus*, xxxvii, 7.

“Pontifex Maximus”. After his murder, Maximus, who succeeded to command in Britain, might have held it if his ambition had not drawn him, with the forces under him, into continental warfare, to contend with Theodosius, who upon defeating the tyrant invalidated his acts.¹ Marcellinus accuses Stilicho, the general of Honorius, and a Vandal by birth, of treachery to the empire,—“*Spreto Honorio Alanorum, Suecorum, Wandalorumque gentes donis pecuniisque illectus contra regnum Honorii excitavit.*” After the defection and independence of Britain, “*mansit ab eo tempore sub typannois*”.² But the absence of materials for English history after Theodosius is very remarkable; nor has any satisfactory explanation been given for the destruction of the literature of the period.

The names and events of English history during the sixth and seventh centuries, recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle*, form rather a skeleton than a body of information; and if it is to be clothed with flesh and blood, this must be done at some risk of departure from the true form of the original; nor do we feel quite sure, in scanning the dis severed members, that even the skeleton is altogether made up of the genuine bones of the individual who once lived; but it rather seems, in some points, to have been fitted together to accommodate the scheme of a skilful osteologist.

Ella disembarked, with his three sons, in Sussex, in three ships, in A.D. 477, twenty-eight years after the first landing of Hengist in Kent; and we find them in 491 besieging the strongly fortified city of Andredes-ceaster (Pevensey).³ This Ella is named as the preponderant chief of his day.⁴ But I will dismiss this South Saxon kingdom, which lasted little more than a century, and revert to the kingdom of Wessex, which swallowed it up in 584, under Cæawlin.

Cerdic, the founder of the West Saxon kingdom, came over in 495, eighteen years after Ella's landing; but whether he first touched on the east coast of England, or on this south coast of Hampshire, is by no means satisfactorily settled. A road, as we have seen, runs in a

¹ *Cod. Theodos.*, lib. xv, 14.

² Procopius, *Hist. Vandal.*, lib. i.

⁴ *Sax. Chron.*; Bede, ii, c. 5.

³ Hen. Hunting.

straight line from Dunwich in Suffolk to Havant in Hampshire; therefore his landing may either have been at the latter place, or if at the former, he could have marched thence direct to Havant; and if provided with cavalry, would thus avoid a circuitous and perilous voyage, as well as the danger of being intercepted by the Roman galleys from the well defended ports of Kent. It might then occupy several years to build ships for placing invaders in a position to scour the coasts,—“*Sexto etiam anno adventus eorum, occidentalem circumierunt Britannie partem quae Westsere nuncupatur.*”¹

At the same time that Cerdic was establishing a kingdom in Wessex, a band of his allies, with companies of two ships, under Porta, landed at Portsmouth or Southampton. Others arrived, thirteen years later, under Stuff and Wiltgar, of the race of Cerdic, who occupied the Isle of Wight in 534, which had been previously captured by Cerdic and Cynric in 530. Henry of Huntingdon says “*regnum Westsaxe incipit 519*”, under Cerdic and his son Cynric, after the battle of Cerdices-Ford. Eighty-two years then elapsed after the arrival of Cerdic, before the three towns of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, were taken. Cerdic, who died in 534, himself only occupied Hants. His son added Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, whilst Gloucestershire and part of Somersetshire were taken by his grandson.

The narrative of the many events which happened before the formation of the great kingdom of the West Saxons can only be understood by rightly interpreting the names of the enemies with whom the three kings before referred to had to contend. The Durotriges (or water-dwellers) represented the native population, whose opposition would be feeble even if they were not favourable to the new order of things; and the same may, perhaps, be said of the Dunsættas (or settlers on the hills). An interesting treaty exists, made between the Angli and the Wealas, for regulating the intercourse between themselves and the Dunsættas. It is attributed by Wilkins² to the reign of Ethelred, though it names neither the king nor the locality, and seems a general agreement applicable to the parties in question, a river being used as

¹ Ethelwerd's Chronicle.

² *Leges Angl. Sax.* London, 1721.

a boundary. A clause in it mentions the Wentscœttas and the Dunseattas, and says the former anciently belonged to the latter, but more rightly to the West Saxons, and to them should be paid the rates and taxes, as well as bail to be found ; and if the king wills it, they must send hostages for keeping the peace. Now if the dwellers in South Wales are called Wentscœttas, as interpreted by Somner,¹ then the same name of Wentscœttas may be applied to the dwellers about Venta Belgarum, wherever that may be. Mr. J. Kerslake is inclined to localise this treaty, and the people referred to in it, to the county of Dorset, in opposition to other great authorities who have fixed it in Devonshire.² The Wealas seem to have been the real enemies of Cerdic and his successors, and to have occupied a position of command, as when in 508 Cerdic, after collecting levies to help him in Kent and Sussex, encounters and defeats Natanleod at the head of five thousand men.

Who, then, are these Wealas against whom the heathen men are constantly fighting ? We find them referred to in every part of the kingdom, therefore the word is not rightly translated "Welsh". The word means foreigners or barbarians, in the sense of speaking a foreign tongue, as the Greeks called the Romans, and the Romans the Greeks. I take these then to be the Romano-Britons holding by traditions of the Eastern or Greek empire, in contradistinction to those who first as Vandalo-Britons, under the name of Saxons became afterwards Anglo-Saxons when they enlisted under the banner of Western Rome. The superiority of Angli and Wealas over the other inhabitants is shewn by a clause in the treaty before referred to, wherein the *weregeld*, or compensation in cases of murder, as between Angli and Wealas, is settled at one half the sum payable by the rest of the community. The chroniclers designate the Wealas as Britons or Welsh ; and as that party fell away, or were absorbed, so in after times they lost both their name and their importance, though surviving in the outlying provinces of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica. Mr. J. Kerslake has traced

¹ *Angl. Sax. Dict.* Oxford, 1659.

² "The Welsh in Dorset", read before the Dorset Antiq. Soc. at Shaftesbury, in July 1879.

relics of the ancient British Church in the dedications of churches where the names of the early local saints survive the re-dedication ; sometimes alone, but more often in conjunction with the Catholic saints introduced under the centralising system of Rome. The Wealas, however, were Christians, though schismatics, and the legends of the cloister and the village raised up afterwards a poetical monument of chivalric events descriptive of the fierce contest between the heathens and the Christian population, of whom King Arthur was the most redoubtable champion.

Cynric, the second King of Wessex, took Searobyrig (Old Sarum) in 552, and Beranbyrig (Barbury Hill) in 556; Cealwin, the third King, who began to reign in 560, took the towns of Lygeanburh, (Egelesburh, Bensington, and Egonesham, in the year 571; and six years after fought severely at Deorham, in Gloucestershire, and captured the important cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, in 577. In 584 we read of a severe contest with the Wealas at Fetthanleagh. Invaded by Ethelbert of Kent, Cealwin retaliated, and defeated that monarch at Wimbledon ; but was unable to resist the coalition of his nephew Ceolric with enemies on his borders, and he met with a severe defeat at Wodensburg, near the Woden's Dyke, and died soon afterwards.

Ceolric, whose reign lasted only five years, was succeeded in 597 by Ceolwulf, who had to fight incessantly against either the Angles or the Wealas, and the native inhabitants.¹

In 611 Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom, and held it thirty-one years.² He was in lineal descent from Cenric. In 614 he fought at Beandune, and slew 2,065 Wealas. This place is supposed by Camden to be Bindon in Dorsetshire ; and though contradicted by Gibson and others, there seems no more likely locality. The conversion of the West Saxons ("*qui antiquitus Geuissæ vocabantur*")³ to Christianity at this period is a fresh starting-point in their history. In 635 King Cynegils was baptised by Birinus, the Bishop, at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, stood godfather to his son-in-law and godson. This event, if it brought him

¹ *Saxon Chron.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Hen. Hunting.

new allies, also made enemies. His son Cenwalch, who succeeded in 643, was driven out of his kingdom two years after by the heathen King Penda of Mercia. This Cenwalch reigned, however, thirty-one years, and in the early part of his reign caused the old church at Winchester to be built. In 648 he gave Cuthred, his kinsman, 3,000 hides of land by Ashdown. In 650 Birinus, Bishop of the Wealas, died, after Birinus, the Romish Bishop, obtained the bishopric of the West Saxons.¹ We hear of King Cenwalch fighting in 652 at Bradford by the Avon, and in 658 fought the Wealas at Peonna² (Pointington), and drove them as far as Pedridan (the Parret). This was after his return from East Anglia, where he was three years in exile. Penda had driven him from his kingdom because he had forsaken that warlike king's sister.

In 672 King Cenwalch died, and Seaxburga, his queen, reigned for one year after him. Bede says that for ten years after the death of Cenwalch the kingdom was ruled by *subreguli*, who divided it between them.³ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* places Æscuin in 674, and Kentwin in 676, as kings of Wessex. The influence of the Church and of the Roman missionaries was very great at this time.

Ceadwalla advanced himself by his military skill to the throne of Wessex, captured the Isle of Wight, and at the end of two years' reign laid down his greatness to be baptised at Rome by Pope Sergius in 688,⁴ and died seven days after.

This king was succeeded by Ina, son of Cedred, who was nephew of Cynegils. During his reign of thirty-seven years Glastonbury Abbey was rebuilt or refounded for the repose of the soul of his brother Mollo, who in over-running Kent had met with his death there. The King resigned the throne to his kinsman Æthelheard, a descendant of Cerdic, in 728. He had some troublesome wars both with the West Wealas in Cornwall, and with

¹ *Sax. Chron.*

² Mr. J. Kerslake (*A Primæval British Metropolis*, Bristol, 1877) has given good reasons for fixing Peonnum at Pointington, "from whence alone the flight to the Parrett was possible", rather than Penselwood, to which it is sometimes assigned.

³ Lib. iii, c. 12.

⁴ Hen. Hunting.

the North Wealas in Glamorganshire ; and on his death, in 740, was succeeded by his kinsman Cuthred.

The history of the West Saxons in the eighth century is the history of the bishops, who exerted such sway that the kings either abandoned their powers or ceased to exercise them ; and it was often convenient that they should go to Rome, or retire to a monastery. But the temporal interests of Wessex suffered severely from too much attention to the spiritual, and the successors of Penda in Mercia, though no longer heathens, yet produced such kings as Æthelbald and Offa, who emulated the former fame of Wessex, and aimed at the supremacy of the whole kingdom. Bishop Hædda ruled the sees of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, and Winchester, in 678, from the latter place ; but on his death, in 705, the former see was separated by the influence of Mercia ; and King Ina of Wessex, by arrangement with the bishops, divided Winchester into two sees of Winchester and Sherborne ; the latter being filled by the celebrated Aldhelm, who ruled it four years. Then follow nine bishops before Ealstan, who assisted at the battle of Ellendune in 823, and at the Parret in 845. Fourth in succession after him was the famous Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great. There seems to be some confusion in the succession to the bishoprics till 906, when three lines of bishops are recorded at Sherborne, at Wilton, and at Ramsbury. The latter were called bishops of Wiltshire. These sees were united in 1045 by Herman, private chaplain to Edward the Confessor, and the head of the see was removed to Old Sarum.

After subduing the northerners we find Æthelbald of Mercia fighting in alliance with Cuthred of Wessex against the Wealas, and defeated them at Ddefawdan ; but the alliance did not last long, and the two sovereigns were arrayed against each other on the battlefield at Burford in Oxfordshire, in 752, where Mercia was defeated ; but Cuthred did not long survive his victory, and died in 754. The King of Mercia perished the year following at Seggeswold,¹ in consequence of the rebellion of Bernred, and Offa was made King of Mercia in 755. The vigour of his government, combined with his connection with Charle-

¹ Seckington.

magne, the re-founder of the Roman empire of the West, enabled him to rule over Kent, Essex, and East Anglia; but neither his successes nor his crimes secured to his dynasty after him the retention of regal power. His daughter Eadburga married Brihtric, King of Wessex, who reigned sixteen years; and in his fourth year the first invasion of the Danes occurred, in which one of his officers lost his life. A cousin of Æthelbald and of Offa was the famous St. Werberg, daughter of Wulfhere, King of Mercia. She died in about 700, and the influence she had over three convents of nuns immortalised her reputation for sanctity, as it did that of the saintly Ætheldreda at Ely, who was an aunt of St. Werberg.

Another descendant of Inigils, the brother of Ina, sprang up in the person of Egbert, who was considered the only remaining descendant of Cerdic. He fled to Charlemagne, and when called to the throne of Wessex in 800, he had prepared himself by a good political education at the court of that active monarch. Kenwulf was now King of Mercia; but the murder of his son, and the distraction of that kingdom under Ceolwulf and Bernwulf, ended in the collision of the latter king with Egbert at Elendoune, and the defeat of Mercia, which was never retrieved.

Egbert, the great King of Wessex, subdued Kent and Essex in 823; and ten years later the Danes, who had allied themselves with the Cornishmen, defeated him at Charmouth in Dorsetshire (*Carrum*), though he fully revenged himself two years after by routing them in Cornwall, at Hengistesdune; and in 836 the king died,¹ leaving his son Ethelwulf to succeed him in Wessex.

The education of the cloister was not a good preparation for a throne which had to be defended from attacks on all sides; but the generalship of Bishop Ealstan of Sherborne availed him more than the lectures of Swithin of Winchester. Fierce conflicts with the Danes are reported in 837 at Hamton (Southampton) and at Port (Portsmouth), and in 838 at Mercsware. In 840 was a fight at Carrum (Charmouth), and five years after the venerable Bishop Ealstan and General Ernulfus, with the men of Somerset, and General Osred with the Dorsetshire men, were more successful in a severe fight at the mouth of the Parret.

¹ Hen. Hunting.

A conspiracy of obscure character caused the deposition of Ethelwulf in 856. Bishop Ealstan seems to have headed it with a view to place Ethelbald, the King's eldest son, on the throne; and a compromise was made, whereby the old King was to be relegated to the eastern part of his dominions, and Wessex proper was to be ruled by Ethelbald. He reigned, however, only five years, up to 861; and his brother Ethelbert, after him, to 866, when Ethelred, a third brother, succeeded to the throne.

Alfred, the youngest of Ethelwulf's sons, born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in 849, acceded to the throne of his brother in 870, and inherited the legacy of a chronic state of warfare with the Danes. They had wintered on English territory for the first time in 851, in Thanet, and the year following they arrived in the Thames with three hundred and fifty ships. They march into Surrey, but are defeated at Aclea. There is an account of the exploits of Rayner Lodbrog at an English promontory, where the English noble Waltheof fell; and in the Danish wars of the sons of Rayner, in 866 to 871, Ubbo is mentioned as chief of the Frisians. Those terrible engagements in Berkshire were followed by a battle in Wilts, at Wiltune or Wintune (MSS. differ), and nine separate battles were fought this same year in the country south of the Thames.

In 876 three Danish kings who had been stationary at Cambridge came down to Wareham, but had to give hostages before they could make terms of peace. Then they retired with their cavalry to Dorchester; and the next year their fleet, sailing from Wareham to co-operate, was overwhelmed by a storm, and one hundred and twenty ships perished at Swannawic (Swanwich). The three kings, Godrum, Oscetun, and Andwend, having occupied much of Alfred's territory, were not content to leave him the remainder, but came down to Chippenham, covering the country like locusts; and though in 878 we hear of a defeat of the Danes in North Devon, and the death of Ubbo, one of their kings, yet Alfred had to withdraw and seclude himself for six months in the Isle of Ethelney, from which he emerged to collect his forces at the Stone of Egbert in Selwood Forest (Brixton-Deverill according to Sir R. C. Hoare), where adherents joined him from neighbouring counties. On the next day he marched to

Egglea (somewhere near Clay Hill), and from thence, at break of day, to Ethandune (Edington), where he surprised the Danes, and drove them into their stronghold of Bratton Camp, or such as survived the fatal battle fought at Ethandune.

Until we explored the scientific works by which Bratton fortress is defended, and appreciated by actual observation the commanding position it holds over the whole plain, we might have been disposed to deviate from this accepted site, as interpreted by many writers, in favour of the places suggested by Mr. G. Poulett Scrope, M.P. But one main point of his argument, that Edington and Edingdon have terminations which Anglo-Saxons would never interchange (the one meaning town, and the other hill), has been broken down by the fact that in *Domesday Surrey* this very place is actually written Edingdun, as was pointed out by our noble President at an evening meeting at Devizes; and the other points referred to by the Rev. Mr. Smith have been so explained by him that the sites of Edington and Bratton Camp may be considered as more likely than any other to be the places referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and by Asser, even if we take no account of the famous White Horse cut out on the hill, and its traditions.

A fourteen days' siege of Bratton Camp brought the enemy to terms, probably through want of provisions. Godrun, with thirty of his chiefs, went to Aulre (Aller) to be baptised, and took the name of Athelstan, King Alfred standing godfather. A week after, a further ceremony took place at the royal town of Wædmor; and after exchanging civilities during twelve days, the Danish King removed his headquarters from Chippenham to Cirencester; and the year following, according to the terms of the treaty, he marched his army away into East Anglia.

In 893 a great navy of two hundred and fifty ships came to the port of Lympe, and constructed a castle at Awldre (Appledore). In the meantime Hastings, another valiant sea-king, arrived with eighty ships at the port of the Thames, and pitched his camp at Midletune (Milton). In 894 we find him on the Severn and also on the Mersey, acting in alliance with the North Welsh. The active King Alfred was equal to the occasion, and resisted the

invader successfully till death put an end to his labours in the year 900.

Although the valour and skill of his son Edward the Elder kept the Danes at bay, who were in possession of the eastern part of the island, still an invasion by a powerful king as was Harold of the Beautiful Hair, of Norway, was a serious matter, particularly as he was joined by Ethelwold, a son of King Alfred, and an English pretender to Edward's throne; who, however, was killed in battle at Holme, near Dungeness, between Lydd and the sea, known to this day as the Holme Stone.¹

The death of Edward in 924 left the throne open to Athelstan the Dane, who assumed the government of the whole kingdom; and when this had been secured by his victory at Brunenburh in 937, we find him asserting his supremacy in Cornwall, in the far west. The vigorous administration of his bishops and thegns causes this fourteen years' reign to have importance in our history, particularly after the mysterious manner in which his party acquired popularity throughout this century. His connection with Henry the Fowler of Germany, through the alliance of a sister with the Emperor's son, kept up the eastern interest, which was maintained through the next reign of Edmund the Elder, a brother of Athelstan (*the noble rock*); but his murder on the day of St. Augustine is a mysterious event, and, as the *Chronicle* says, opened the door to fable. But this door had been opened already as far back as the times of Egbert.

I will pass over the reigns of Edred and Edwy to that of Edgar, which began in 959; and though he greatly favoured the Church, he is accused by Henry of Huntingdon of shewing too much favour to the Danes and Easterlings, which was natural if he was of the lineage of Athelstan. The churches and monasteries he established, and the vigour of Dunstan and his coadjutors in introducing the Benedictine monks, afford a fruitful field of research to the historical antiquary.

His son Edward II, who is called the Martyr, after five years' reign, was treacherously murdered at Corvesgate (Corfe) Castle, near Wareham, by order of his step-mother. Her son Æthelred profited by the murder of his

¹ Note to Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls Series) by T. Arnold, M.A.

half-brother and predecessor to mount the throne ; but the fall of the Danish party was soon revenged by the invasions which incessantly followed upon the accession of Æthelred. In the third year of his reign came seven ships of the Danes, as a prelude to their future devastations, and plundered Southampton. In 986 Æthelred, for his cruel destruction of the bishopric of Rochester, says his chronicler, was punished by seeing the Danes arrive in many parts, and hang over the kingdom like the clouds of heaven. On one side Wecheport is plundered, on another Wic. Byrthnoth, the consul, who is sent against that part of their army, is slain, and his troops cut to pieces. In 994 Olave, son of Trygva, King of Norway, and Sweyn, after ineffectually attacking London, and failing in their expectations along the coast of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, obtained horses, and made more than usually savage raids inland, which compelled Æthelred to furnish provisions and tribute ; and they wintered peaceably in Southampton. And Æthelred procured the conversion to Christianity of King Olave at Andover, and a promise from him not to return to the country in a hostile attitude ; which promise was kept by him, though not apparently by his countrymen, for they ravaged Cornwall, Devon, and South Wales, in 997, and then returned to Penwiltstrict (Land's End), destroyed with fire and sword the country round Lydford, and burned the monastery of Ordulf at Esingestoeche (Tavistock) in 998. After this they stretched out to Frommutham (mouth of the Frome, that is Wareham), leaving their ships, and marching through Dorsetshire with accustomed devastation. They sometimes sojourned in the Isle of Wight, and fed upon Hampshire and Sussex. Æthelred, however, defeated the Danes in Cumberland, which was one of their strongholds. In 1001 we find them at Exmouth, overrunning the country, according to Henry of Huntingdon with their accustomed allies, Mars and Vulcan. The Somerset men assembled and fought them at Penbo ; but the Danes always had the fortune of war in their favour.

In rapid succession, after the King's marriage with Emma, follow disastrous events : the massacre of Danes on St. Brice's Day, and a formidable invasion of that nation

in Devonshire ; the treason of the English general Alfrie, and the invaders' pursuit of the English ; the burning of Wilton, and their march on to Salisbury, from whence they returned to their ships in triumph with the booty in 1003. Sweyn, in 1006, wintered in the Isle of Wight, and at Christmas time made a raid through Hampshire and Berkshire ; and in the year following the King had, as usual, to compound for a peace by another large money payment. The treachery, at the same time, of Edric, the general of Mercia, aggravated the misfortunes of the nation. A series of disasters follow which chiefly concern the eastern counties, though in 1011, after sacking Canterbury and overrunning Kent, they invade Surrey, Sussex, Hants, and Wilts.

In 1013 Sweyn made a very successful campaign, for entering the Humber, he makes his supremacy respected through all the country east of Watling Street, and over the people of Lindesey and the five cities, and thence coming south, captures Oxford and Winchester ; but meeting with resistance at London, where the King was, he fell back at Wallingford and Bath, and all Wessex submitted to him. Then taking to his ships, Sweyn assailed London by water, and the Londoners thought best to submit, while King Æthelred as well as Emma, and their two sons Edward and Alfred, fled across from the Isle of Wight to Richard Duke of Normandy.

The sudden death of Sweyn only exchanged one enemy for another, and Æthelred, after ineffectually opposing Canute, the son of Sweyn, had the mortification of seeing him proceed from Sandwich round to Wessex by Frothamutha (mouth of the Frome, that is Wareham) ; from whence he harried Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, while Æthelred was ill at Chosam (Corsham), and was unable to prevent all Wessex from submitting to the Dane. Æthelred, after a reign of thirty-seven years full of labours and anxieties, died in London before the arrival of the hostile fleet bound thither to oppose him.

In 1016 his son Edmund Ironside commenced his reign by continuing the struggle with various success, and I need not recount the well known events, first at Peonnum (probably the same place where the battle was fought in A.D. 658, before referred to), near Gillinges (Gilling-

ham), at Sceorstan¹ (Sherston), at London; and lastly, the division of the kingdom, by which Edmund kept Wessex, while Canute appropriated to himself Mercia in addition to his already ample territory. The murder of Edmund Ironside at Oxford placed Canute in possession of the whole kingdom; and as he then married Emma, the widow of Æthelred, and daughter of Richard second Duke of Normandy, I will conclude this sketch with his death at Shaftesbury, which happened after he had reigned twenty years, and he was buried at Winchester.

This is a convenient halting-place; but an event connected with the topography of these coasts at the time must not be passed over. On the death of Emma in 1052, Godwin the Consul and Sweyn his son came over, full sail, from Flanders, and ravaged the Isle of Wight and then Portland; but Harold coming over from Ireland, plundered at Portlocan (Porlock Bay), and thence coming to his father in the Isle of Wight, they went over to Pevensey, and from thence to Ness and into Rumaneye (Romney Marsh), and Hythe, Folkestone, Dover, Sandwich, and Sheppey, taking wherever they went hostages and ships. A detachment burned the royal town of Middle-tune (Milton), and all this happened before a compromise could be effected.

What I have said pretends not to teach what is new; but it is important to refresh the memory upon certain facts connected with the locality under review before the fossil skeleton can be clothed with flesh and blood. The mighty actors on the scenes referred to have been named, but how little is known of the people or of their state! The Roman system of division and subdivision of land and labour and social organisation have been traced in France with some success, and there is reason to suppose that history has taken a similar course here. "*Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos.*" The lawyers of Britain were, doubtless, as astute here during unrecorded times as they were before and afterwards. One of the first instances of this can be seen in the laws of Ina in the seventh century. In these we find a graduated and

¹ Near Malmesbury, according to Camden, Dr. Ingram, and the late Professor Bosworth, who are quoted in support of this position by Mr. T. Kerslake of Bristol.

arbitrary system in full operation, in which every man is estimated at a certain money value (Were), and when injured or killed must be compensated for according to scale. Slaves and freedmen are treated according to fixed rules. The rights of the Church, and the pains and penalties for transgressing its laws, are dwelt upon with careful minuteness. The oppressions of the Roman lawyers have been quoted by contemporary writers as one of the gravest causes of the fierce hatred of the people towards Roman rule in the latter days of the Western Empire.

The laws under King Athelstan, and the Danish line under Canute, did not materially differ from those of the Anglo-Saxons; but if we recognise in the whole the master-mind of Roman ingenuity, we cannot but suppose that they grew out of the circumstances of the time, even though many customs may have been handed down from pagan Rome. This name pagan is a testimony to the fact that the *pagi* preserved their old superstitions after the towns had received baptism and the religion of Rome. In heathen Roman times the religion of the natives was little interfered with; but in Christian times the introduction, among the rural populations, of the fully developed ceremonial of Rome, was found to be much more difficult than in the towns, which had been accustomed to Roman manners and civilisation from the days of Vespasian and Agricola.

We did not visit the pit-habitations so thickly scattered through Wiltshire; but they tell of a great rural population. According to the *Domesday Survey* Wiltshire was more than twice as populous as Worcestershire: the former containing 10,749, and the latter county 4,916; and Mr. Sharon Turner¹ considers these figures as representing so many families, and takes five as the general average of persons in a family, which would bring up the population of Wilts to 53,745. A local name of Ledges, Lynchets, or Lynches, has been derived from the Anglo-Saxon *land-sceard*, or land-sharing. The division of the county into hundreds and tythings should be investigated by comparing the original texts of Anglo-Saxon laws and charters with the remains of shire moot-halls

¹ *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, London, 1836, vol. iii, p. 256.

and open places of assembly, both of the *shire-gemot* and the *folc-gemot*. Bishops and ældermen, reeves, and other official personages, figure in them, and administer justice by a refined system of *borh*, or surety, for every man's good behaviour, fines and punishments on offenders being imposed in the assemblies referred to. Wiltshire may boast of having played an important part in Christianising and civilising and welding into one united body this great British nation ; but the history of her native hill-settlers and water-dwellers has yet to be written.

ON THE DRAGON OF CORNWALL.

BY DR. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

(Read August 22, 1876, during the Congress at Bodmin and Penzance.)

STRICTLY, and according to the text, this subject does not produce much result to the investigator, the dragon being seldom referred to in Cornish folk-lore or tradition, though very much in that of Brittany. But as Cornwall cannot be disconnected from, indeed forms a most important item in, that part of the history of Britain or Albion, in which apparently more than one unadulterated wave of immigration succeeded another on their passage from the East ; so Cornwall becomes an indissoluble link in that chain of nationalities which can, unhappily, be only indefinitely arrived at by the modern student. But the very difficulty of the quest makes it the more inviting, because it is not all dark ; considering the distance of time, and the absence of chronicles by these people themselves, the subject is studded with a fair amount of evidence which curiously enough would hardly have attached to any other people of which we have so early a historical account, or, I venture to think, *accounts*, and of different peoples.

In these accounts crops up here and there a stratum of evidence which when we discover it, seldom as we do in Cornwall, is found to contain the same elements and characteristics ; or which, when new combinations have been formed, presenting a different appearance to eye or ear, will on analysis be found to contain the same bases. And we have at this Britannic end of our chain a large amount of evidence, some of which is clearly of so ancient a date as upon that ground alone to be necessarily connected with the earlier settlers upon these shores.

Camden says, writing of Uther Pendragon, "I do not presume to say whether it was from him that 'the royal standard of England was a dragon with a golden head, *so unknown to our neighbours*, and terrible to the pagans in foreign nations under Richard I, as Gervase expresses it. I rather think it was borrowed from the Romans, who

long used the eagle after Marius had abolished the figure of the wolf, minotaur, horse, etc., from their banners; and who at last, under the later emperors, adopted the *dragon*", as referred to by Claudian and others. Although Camden gives his reason for differing from Gervase on the point of this being the origin of the English dragon standard, we may reasonably assume, from his quoting him without taking any other objection to his statement, that he did not disagree with the words "*so unknown to our neighbours*"; and as Camden was too genuine a man to join in the desire to annihilate the Scottish memorials and records, unhappily connived at by England; nor those of the Picts, unhappily connived at by Scotland; I must assume that such examples as I now offer to your notice had not come under his.

But let us dispose of his opinion first. It is true that the Romans used the *draconarius*, shewn on one of my diagrams, in the reign of Trajan or shortly after it; and also, according to Montfaucon and others, it was the banner of the Indians, Persians, and several other eastern nations, including the Scythians; as it is still used by the Chinese, though asserted to be a modern introduction among them; and without going so far as to propose that the Romans drew their dragon-standard from Britain in especial, though it appears only to have been used by them after their becoming well acquainted with the customs of this country, I must point out that with the evidences before us it is more probable that they did so than that Richard or any other English Christian king drew his from *pagan* Rome, the ancient idolatries of which, in the superstition of the middle ages, might, as they did, serve for the intoxication of a Saturnalia, as in the Abbot of Unreason; but would never have been used to marshal the combined forces of Christendom for the rescue of the palladium of their faith.

On the other side we have strong evidence that, assuming such a banner to have been used by England, its origin was British, and not Roman. It was clearly the emblem of the Picts from the fact that whenever the Scots sought the assistance of the descendants of their Pictish predecessors in power, against England, the dragon appeared in an honourable position on the great seals and

charters of Scotland, unless opposite policy required its total absence; and when, on the contrary, they quarrelled with or suppressed the Picts, the dragon disappeared from an honourable, and was found in a degraded, position on its seals, etc. But as the Scots retained it as a national emblem long after the conversion of both nations, and having altogether suppressed the Picts and their memorials, adopted it as their own on special occasions, it would with them have lost all its pagan significance, and have assumed merely a national one.

This grand banner was finally taken from the Scots by England in the Battle of the Standard; but at the date Gervase refers to it was all-important to Richard to conciliate the Scots, as a number of the Scottish as well as Welsh, Irish, and west of England or Cornish nobles, put themselves under his command; by whose messengers his difficulties or reverses abroad could be easily reported, and an invasion by the Scottish king or the Welsh princes would have been disastrous; to say nothing of any misgivings he might have as to the loyalty of the representative of England at home. So that the raising of the Scottish emblem or banner (perhaps the very standard taken from David I) by the English forces, for the purpose probably of keeping the Keltic party in good humour, as it seems to have been also the emblem of the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Irish, and not as the banner of England, as Gervase supposes, would have been the most prudent and politic act that could have been adopted, as it would have kept these valorous people in their own quarters, and so prevented the constant brawls that would have occurred between them and the English.

A short recital of the emblems on the seals exhibited, which are taken from casts furnished me by that careful heraldic writer, Mr. Henry Laing of Edinburgh, will assist the subject. Of some of these only a single impress from the original is known to exist, as in the case of one of the oldest, attached to a charter held by the ecclesiastics of Durham.

If I am able to prove the case, I think it will appear that the Cornish banner, amongst others, was the same as that used by the Scottish monarchs, and even, it would seem from Gervase, by the King of England himself. It

was no want of scrutiny by the great Camden that made him unaware of this, for the particulars were not in the hands of the learned at the date of his death, nor for more than a century after ; but Gough's edition might have referred to it in quoting the above in Mr. Camden's name. It is a great point, however, that we now have the facts, though we cannot help looking with a regretful eye on the barbarities of the royal commanders on both sides of the question, who took delight in the destruction of the opposite party's memorials ; and who, on the part of the English, and no doubt on that of the Gaels, must have destroyed even the official documents lawfully their own, in some cases altogether, in others by the destruction or abstraction of seals and emblems even from the great contracts by the Crown ; otherwise the labour of collecting the evidences now before you would not have been valued at the high price set upon it by the last direct reigning descendant of the house of Stuart, which nobly atoned for such acts of preceding sovereigns.

The time has long passed when any political feeling would arise from this subject ; and as one party was as bad as the other, and it was the custom of the times, neither can find fault, and we may examine the matter with the quiet eye of the historian. Even the very conciliatory Lord Hailes admits that Edward I took away *private* charters, and tore the seals from others, thus rendering them invalid. What, then, would be his course with public ones ?

As I shall not refer to other sections of the Gaelic race after the mention of the seals, I may here draw attention to two animal forms which must necessarily be interesting to all in southern and western Britain. Tytler, describing the Scottish paraphernalia, writes thus : " There were carried before the kings and nobles into battle rich banners, upon which the figure of a white horse, of a raven, or of a fighting warrior, were curiously wrought in gold, and not unfrequently decorated with jewels. In the Battle of the Standard (1138, David I) the royal Scottish banner was embroidered with the figure of a dragon, round which rallying-point, when the day was going against them, the flower of the Scottish army crowded in defence of their sovereign."

The raven, of course, was Danish. The dragon, I propose to shew, was Pictish, or let me say British; it appears to have been the emblem of the nobler classes of immigrating nations on these shores;—and the white horse it has been the fashion to attribute to the Saxons. I consider this British also, because of its connection, as in this case, with the Gael; it and the dragon having been in their origin purely Oriental emblems, and as such would have been imported by the same people, both, as we learn from the Indian poems (themselves so old as to convey the customs of four thousand years), having been the deified protectors of those people from whom the older mythologies took their rise, and which would appear to have been emblems in these outlying parts of Albion when the mythologies of Greece and Rome were in their infancy. Tradition represents these western peoples, and as a consequence their northern connections (the different Keltic races being highly communicative), as Christianised long and long before Saxon England was; and that the source of their Christianity was Oriental, indicating that the old current of communication was still kept up, and that, in some mysterious manner from the East.

The good, brave, and fearless missionaries to the Saxons, hearing of these so-called blood-thirsting and barbarous tribes, with the colouring of national animosity, must have been as much startled, when with cautious steps they approached their confines, to discover that they were governing themselves by the bright beams of the new religion which was still only glimmering in Teutonic Angleland, as Cæsar was to find that strange Oriental priesthood sacrificing to the Baal of the Syrians and the Isis of Egypt, as they really were, though he describes them by the Roman titles of Apollo and Minerva.

But there are more quiet reasons, which we can better grasp, for attaching these emblems to the Kelts. The Saxons were not horsemen. With the exception of their leaders, the Saxon warriors stand as infantry between the equine ancient Britons and the Roman and Norman knights. The Saxons and Britons both revered the white horse, an emblem of the sun; but even so the balance is in favour of the Britons, not alone from their being horsemen, but also because on the coins given by Camden I

find about forty British with the horse, ten British with the dragon, and not one Saxon one with either horse or dragon. And from my own experience in the museums in the old Keltic districts in France, as Auvergne, Puy, Vannes, etc., I can assert that these emblems are as abundant on the ancient coins of the continental Kelts.

The Seals.—The first seal we have on the record of the Scottish kings is that of Duncan II, A.D. 1094. It is of imperfect preservation, and as might be expected from its date, crude in art; but it is, I believe, the solitary example of this King's seal.

That of Edgar, four years later, represents the monarch sitting or legislating; and on this we find two indications which in succeeding seals fast ripen into very remarkable symbols. Edgar was established king of the whole north country by his Saxon uncle Edgar Ætheling. He reigned undisturbed over his Keltic and Teutonic subjects, and his seal bears emblems which, explained by those of his successors, indicate the Keltic dragon by the triple claw and by the round balls, the probably still retained emblem of the former Teutonic sun-worship; while superior to both are the fleur-de-lis, cross, sceptre, and the sword of conquest which introduced it, which appear to have been first adopted as emblems at the suggestion of St. Cuthbert.

Alexander I (A.D. 1107) is the first who shews on his seal the warrior-knight and the legislating king. So far the banner has no device, unless the double and triple pointed streamers indicate the dragon's tail, or the mouth and tongue. This is by no means imaginary, as the ensign *draconarius*, already referred to, appears on Trajan's Column; and in another ancient delineation resembles almost exactly the northern banner or pennoncelle, the representation of which as an ordinary flag is, I think, a modern art-error, the fluttering of these draconic points in the wind having been already noticed, on this subject, by Ammianus Marcellinus. The discs found in the seal of Edgar are in this shewn as radiated, and certainly represent the sun on each side of the monarch, and the influence in his reign was Teutonic.

This may be inferred from that of David I (A.D. 1124), who adopted the same seal, and who passed his youth at the court of England. Under his rule, Mr. Skene says,

“the Keltic element became one to be controlled and kept down, and any attempt to vindicate ancient Keltic rites and privileges to be suppressed as rebellion against the Crown.” But this excess of rigour must have been adopted after his defeat by England in the Battle of the Standard, as, whether there are authentic grounds for this remarkable standard or not, it is certain that until that event his Pictish and northern soldiers were much trusted by him, and repaid that trust as far as they were able, which they would not have done for an oppressor.

Succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV, a minor, sur-named “The Maiden”, the suppressed Keltic element burst forth, and all the force of Ergadia, under Somerled, was brought to bear against the young King, newly crowned at Scone A.D. 1153. With the exception of the Earl of Fife, who, however, was connected with the older Keltic constitution, his great adherents abandoned him. These he defeated, invading Galloway thrice, and made peace with Somerled, who was finally slain in a second attack upon him. After this he attempted to conciliate both parties by gifts of lands and titles; which pandering to both procured him the character of weakness, notwithstanding his successes. His symbols are very characteristic, for while he retained the same seal used in the two preceding reigns, with its Teutonic significance, his disposition to conciliate the Kelts is shewn in as graphic an illustration of serpent-alliance and surroundings as the most prominent of the Egyptian or Hindu symbols, comparative examples being shewn on my diagrams.

In 1165 William the Lion succeeded his brother Malcolm, and forthwith appeared a most extraordinary document. It is a statement of the line of the royal succession, and the whole list of Pictish kings previously recognised is studiously omitted. This plain insult declared the policy of the new King to his northern subjects, while in the south the influence of England was as completely disregarded, the whole policy being to force into prominence the royal line of the Gaelic race, the pedigree of William being given through a long list of mythic Irish kings; *i.e.*, kings of the people most closely allied to the nation of the historical Arthur, which skirted the two opposite coasts of Wales and Ireland, and for whom it

was claimed that their title of Scot was obtained from *Scota*, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt.

Twenty-two years afterwards a second chronicle appeared. In this the Pictish kings are restored, but placed as subsequent in date to the kings of Dalriada; the effect still being the same, namely the primacy of the Gaelic race. Meanwhile, however, great events had taken place.

It is only necessary to look at the seal of William the Lion to see all this feeling clearly portrayed. Its stern severity, divested of every emblem, shews distinctly a breaking away from all alliances, and a determination to rule only with the sword. The reverse is quite as expressive, painfully rigid, without a single ornament, and not even a device on the shield. It is emphatic as the words "No quarter." He invaded England, but was taken prisoner, and was released on surrendering the independence of his kingdom.

Alexander II and III assumed the lion for their badge, having married into the royal family of England. They looked, of course, with contempt on the poor Pict, and used the most powerfully expressive symbols to shew that the Pictish-Keltic element was crushed. The latter sits in his regal chair with each foot upon a dragon; the precise position of the Egyptian deity *Horus*, who was represented as standing on two crocodiles. This hardly appears accidental when taken in connection with the Scottish fable of *Scota*, the King of Egypt's daughter being persecuted in Scotland by the dragon (Pictish of course), and the evident communication of these people for ages with the East.

John Balliol assumed the sceptre as his only emblem, but took the badge of the lion on his knightly shield. As he threw off the allegiance to England, he, of course, needed the whole Keltic support, and we find no serpent or dragon subjugation under his feet.

Bruce, too martial to seek assistance, placed very modestly two little snakes under his feet, apparently for merely keeping up a royal precedent; and lest the Keltic Picts should feel aggrieved, he raised the dragons to surround his shield. With this flattery to his more northern followers, he attacked and defeated the English, and then feeling his full power, he, like William the Lion, discarded

the northerns, and atoned for laxity on that point by the most florid exhibition of the subjugation of the Pictish element; thus on a seal said by Mr. H. Laing of Edinburgh, in a communication to me, to be a second one, his very throne consists of subjugated dragons; for on his brother taking the throne of Ireland, it became necessary to shew the Scottish line direct from there, without Pictish alliance, as William the Lion had done in his reign by the suppression of the Pictish documents of succession. This symbolism was confirmed by his son David II.

Edward Balliol drove David from the throne. To do this he would, of course, seek the friendship of David's *least* attached subjects, and we find his seal perfectly free from any such device.

Robert Stuart, in a most beautiful seal, restored it; but here, for the first time, it appears probably as a heraldic ornament; for although the debased dragons are unmistakable, he elevates the serpent in his inscription on the reverse; and from this date, 1390, it disappears altogether.

That this elevation and degradation of the dragon was not the fancy of mere artificers or designers is, I think, clear from its frequent political accompaniments; but if a doubt arise, after all these instances, as to intent, it seems set at rest, and the mode of treating the emblem shewn to be a political indication and expression of the times, from the fact that Edward I, when he tyrannised over the Scottish nation, treated the Scottish symbol in his day in the same way, and degraded the then lion of Scotland on his seal; while Queen Elizabeth, in a large private seal of her own (of which I have an original), when she wanted to conciliate the northern nations, raised the Keltic¹ dragon to support her shield, as Bruce raised the two which seem to have been the Pictish and Irish dragons on his shield. These two dragons are shewn by several royal Scottish and English seals in my possession, with a clear political meaning. Thus Edward III, having a number of Welsh soldiers, raised the Keltic dragons when in war in Brittany. Mary Stuart, with the fantastic symbolism of her reign, turned them into two Stuart unicorns, probably in contempt of Queen Elizabeth's dragons.

¹ In her arms in Trinity College, Dublin, this supporter passes as the Irish Keltic dragon. It is also shewn in the "Bishop's" Bible, 1568.

It appears, on a first investigation, that the Gaels or Scots had either not used, or had abandoned, the dragon on their acceptance of Christianity; but that the Irish, Caledonian, and Cornish or Welsh Kelts, retained it; but a closer examination shews that the change was really only one of colour, for the dissensions and civil strife in the Keltic nations were distinguished by the colours of the dragon-standards; the white being apparently the Arthurian, *i.e.*, the advanced or Christian emblem, and the red the earlier pagan one. Thus the difficulty with the Gaels was that, although the Picts were converted much later than the Scots, yet at the time here referred to, being, in common with the Picts, Christian, they had only one grand device, which the Gaels appear to have preferred to abandon rather than admit Pictish equality; or as the Picts claimed, superiority, at least in date; and that on great emergencies, as in the Battle of the Standard, they preferred adopting the banner of the people they had subjugated, to draw them with willing hearts to their standard. This subjugation was commenced when the Scots were Christian and the Picts pagan; and Dallaway admits that armorial distinctions taken in battle from pagans were borne afterwards in commemoration of the event.¹

An adoption practised by William the Conqueror, for he, following his predecessors in ravaging the Armoricans, unfurled the white dragon Breton standard when he attacked Saxon Harold, thus allying himself with the Keltic element in Britain by raising the old Arthurian emblem. William bore on his shield the white dragon. Harold's bearer is made to support the red dragon, an indication of his having departed from the sacredness of his Christian oath, as shewn on the Bayeux Tapestry. This old British pagan emblem is still retained in Rouge Dragon.² Arthur's luminous shield was indicative of the

¹ P. 25.

² Though the white dragon appears on William's shield, Lydgate shews that this implied the banner also in the lines—

“And to beholde in the knightis shields
The fell beastes,
The which beastes as the storie leres
Were wrought and bete upon their bannres.”

The Laureate gives Harold the golden dragon of Wessex, the ruddy

white colour; and the Welsh used the white dragon against the English, as mentioned by Scott.

In the mediæval romances we find that Aurilimbrosias and Uther Pendragon (according to Sir Thomas Malory), unrightfully dispossessed by the pagan King Fortiger, or Red Dragon, retired into Brittany, and returned with an army bearing a two-headed white dragon standard. The success of this artifice was complete. The Britons in the assailing forces were at once joined by those under Fortiger, who rallied to the ancient banner of their own kings; and the pagan king was dispossessed, and with his wife and child burnt in his fortress. It thus became the emblem of enforcing the new religion.

There is a strong resemblance in this story to that of Vortigern, who dispossessed the Britons by allying himself with the pagan Saxons, and against whom the white dragon standard would certainly be unfurled, and who, retiring to his fortress in Wales, was there burnt with his wife and child.

We find the dragon legends abundant in western France, and even on the coast of Spain. Arthur was a well known hero in those districts, and notwithstanding Camden's opinion to the contrary, I think Picard was not far wrong in supposing the *Pictones* described by Cæsar, and the *Picts* of Britain, as one people. They were called, with a common meaning, *Brith* or *Brit*, and *Pict*; and it has been surmised by Camden that *Brith*, *Briton*, *Britain*, had a common source. *Brit* in Irish, and *Brith* in Welsh, have still the signification, diversified, mottled. It has not been pointed out that close to the *Pictones* we still find *Brittany*, as with our *Picts*, *Britain*. The covering themselves with figures of animals was a purely Oriental mode of deification, as we find on the *Ephesian Diana* and elsewhere, and I have no doubt these animals were a species of demigods. They were looked on with awe even in the twelfth century, the dragon-standard being necessarily blessed by the Christian bishops¹ in their consecration of gold implying the red dragon. Lydgate also urges Henry VI to use a serpent banner—

“Be which” [are] “venqnysshed al venymes serpentyne”.

¹ The dedication of banners to propitiatory saints, under the sanction of the Church, is commented on by Dallaway.

tions, as Burton in his *History* describes them as the “sacred banners of the Scotch.” The “Britain covered with Caledonian monsters”, of Claudian; the giants or monsters, not alone in a sense of dimension, but cruelty,—to one of whom was given the name of “Maglocunus” (*the island dragon*), probably from the terror he inspired, and the device he displayed, help us considerably on these mystic points; the people, or perhaps the chiefs alone, exhibiting on their persons the dreaded dragon, as Arthur seems to have done on his helmet,—a splendid dragonesque helmet being shewn on a British chief in the coins of Camden.

But Cornwall was one of those places which claimed the grandest of all the dragon-bearers, Arthur, the soldier of the cross, who attacked the dragon of paganism and vanquished it. To my mind this accounts for less mention of the dragon here than in Brittany, all being merged in the great dragon chief Arthur; while the abundance of dragons in Armorica results from importations of traditions, each place appropriating them to itself, though Cornwall has an equally or more powerful rival claimant in the north for the origin of Arthur.

The mystery of the two dragons, the devices of the converted and unconverted chiefs, is graphically pictured by Spenser in the *Fairie Queen* and in Drayton's *Polyolbion*. Internecine strife being a grand characteristic of the Keltic nations, would have shewn itself nowhere so prominently as in a religious war. The cross and sword became as one common emblem. The light of the new faith was indicated by white or brightness, symbolised by the unity of the dragon and the white horse of the sun: hence the unicorn as seen in Brittany. The old, from its human sacrifices, had *red* for its allotted emblem:

“And from the top of Brith, so high and wondrous steep,
Where Dinas Emris stood, shewed where the serpents fought:
The White that tore the Red. From whence the prophet wrought
The Britons sad decay then shortly to ensue.” (*Drayton*.)

These devices could not be called heraldic in our modern sense of the word. Each was simply the representation of a people, and no doubt in its origin Fetish. They bear a resemblance to the emblems used by the chiefs of the Trojans, Greeks, and Romans, who bore such devices

on their helmets and shields ; still more to the Egyptian symbols ; and there was no heraldry in those days. They were probably the sources of heraldic device as we have it. Thus the eagle of the Germanic and Russian powers, which still retain the title of Cæsar, under Kaiser, Czar, etc., is, no doubt, traceable to the Roman eagle,—the spread form to the Eastern and Western Empires. Scotland adopted the lion on intermarriage with lion-bearing England ; while the white horse, blended with the white dragon of England, is associated with George instead of Arthur overcoming the dragon of paganism. Finally, within heraldic times we find the flying dragon on his former soil in Armorica, being prominent in the arms of the noble houses, De Cuëtinon, De Rosmordu, De Penneran, De Troméné, De Kerleton, and others.

Is it too much, then, to ask if the huge emblems in these forms, found in those countries which compete for the origin of Arthurian tradition, North Britain, Cornwall, the Mendips, Camelot, Camel, and Brittany, are not a part and parcel of the same matter ? The mound discovered by Dr. Borlase in Cornwall, that at Loch Nell, and the Druim, or Imire Cam, in Donegal, emblemizing sun and serpent worship as much as the figure of Serapis itself.

I must further point out that another science, hardly embraced in the inquiries of this Association, has shewn by recent researches that in the districts in which these devices and legends are found, there are crania of great age, similar not only to each other, but also to crania found on the western coasts of Palestine, formerly occupied by the Phœnicians, a well recognised serpent or dragon-worshipping race.

Having given before another Society the result of my studies on Arthurian legends, I cannot repeat them here beyond saying that, divested of their Oriental mysticism, they become earnest but hardly romantic histories of the true soldier ; but clothed in their original Oriental metaphor, now altogether clouded by mediæval romance, they were sublime in meaning.

THE MEASUREMENTS OF PTOLEMY AND OF THE ANTONINE ITINERARY,

APPLIED TO THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

(Continued from Vol. xxxiv, p. 320, 1878.)

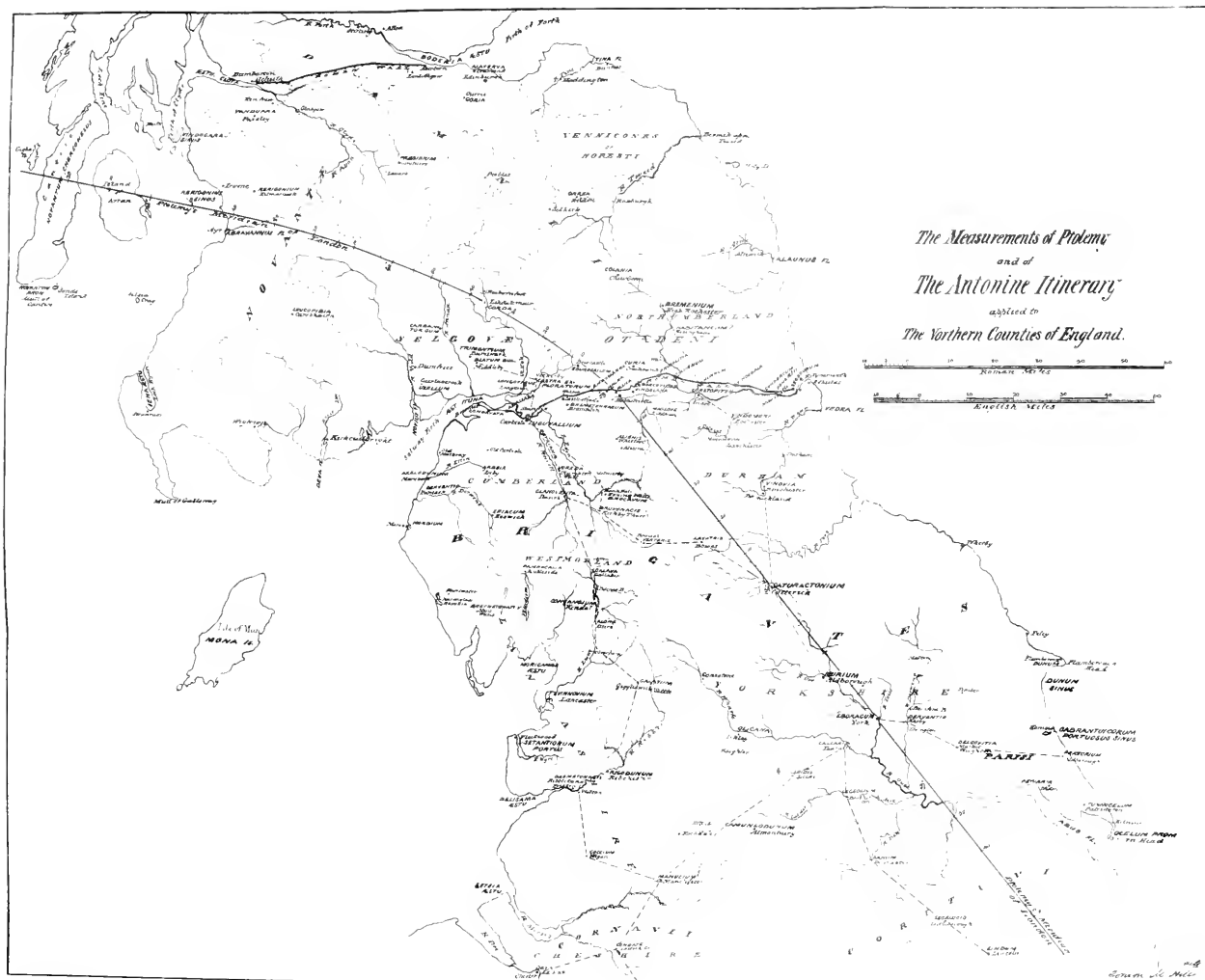
BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

(Read November 16, 1881.)

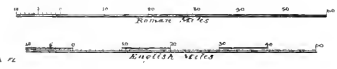
IN the first chapter on the application of the Roman measurements to Britain, the geography of the southern counties was considered; from this basis it is proposed now, in a second chapter, to map out the Roman geography of the northern counties. When the two extremities of England have thus been mapped, a third division of the subject will apply the measurements to the middle country extending from the Thames and Severn to the Humber and the Dee.

The division of the country belonging to each chapter has some particulars of Ptolemy's measurements peculiar to itself. In the southern division one long coast-line, west to east, forms a base, the determination of whose distances affects the positions of most of the towns. In the northern counties the country of the Brigantes stretches from sea to sea, with a coast-line on each side, north to south. The district is so narrow that its towns are related to one or the other, or to both coasts. In the middle division the coast-lines are north to south, but are so far apart as to afford but little help to the internal geography. This makes it convenient to treat of the middle country last; when the geography of the extremities has been defined, the determination of the positions of towns in the intermediate country will be much assisted by the definite positions of those in the northern and the southern counties.

The northern counties of England to be treated of in the present chapter, are Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland. The five first are almost exactly the country which Ptolemy's description gives to the Brigantes; the last, the country of the Otadeni. On the south, Ptolemy places as bordering nations the Cornavii and the Coritani; incidentally



*The Measurements of Ptolemy
and of
The Antonine Itinerary
applied to
The Northern Counties of England.*



they must be mentioned here, but substantially their country will come into the third chapter. On the north it is inevitable that the present chapter must enter Scotland. If the first thought on this should be that it threatens a digression, I trust that afterwards the necessity and advantage of it will be fully apparent. In Scotland we have the measurements of Ptolemy alone, for into that country the Antonine routes scarcely enter. A complete exposition of Ptolemy in Scotland, which I am prepared to make, must be postponed to a future opportunity.

The plan of proceeding is first to apply to the country the measurements of Ptolemy, and then to confirm them and fill out the map from the *Antonine Itinerary*, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the *Ravennas*. But in the northern counties more than in any other part of Britain there is another and most important aid, viz., in the additional identification of places afforded by very numerous inscriptions; besides the evidences of that noble monument, the Roman Wall from the Tyne to the Solway Frith, and of other military remains.

Ptolemy's measurements for the east and west coasts of Albion begin at the northern point of Scotland. This is true in fact, but not in his belief, nor as to the arrangement or order in which he has placed them. He was led to think that Scotland had a north coast of large extent as well as an east and west coast. In Scotland the whole of his supposed north coast will have to be placed as a part of the west coast. All the early attempts to draw the map of Britain from Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes represent Scotland as stretching away a long distance to the eastward, as his figures require: indeed, they give much the greatest dimension to Scotland in the direction from west to east, placing the Orcades or Orkneys at the eastern extremity of the country. That the form thus given to the map of Scotland was entirely erroneous, was known, and is shewn by maps in the sixteenth century and earlier. Camden says of it: "This age of ours hath now at length, by many and sundry voyages, found out in some sort the true dimension and just compass of the whole Isle"; and again, "for which", error in the form of the country, "Roger Bacon, in his Geography, taxed him long since".

By what reasons Ptolemy was led to adopt figures giving so erroneous a shape and bearing to the country we do not precisely know. Cæsar, Strabo, and Pliny had indicated the shape of the Island of Britain as a triangle with its base to the south, and apex to the north. What is now England had been surveyed and mapped by the Romans under Julius Frontinus and others down to the time of Ptolemy; Scotland had been explored by Agricola. Probably the measurements of Scotland relied on by Ptolemy were those of the older navigators and geographers, ill-connected with and uncorrected by any Roman surveys, and which yet, in his judgment, were of such authority as to override such descriptions as those of Cæsar, Strabo, and Pliny. But however the error arose, it materially affects the geography of the northern counties.

The way in which this error of Ptolemy may best be understood and remedied is by tracing one of his meridian lines, and shewing how it varied greatly from a true meridian in its north parts, and was not truly meridian anywhere; and, moreover, that this error in one meridian led to a corresponding error of direction in all the neighbouring meridians. As a governing meridian, that of London serves best both to connect the survey of the northern counties with the southern; and when correctly laid down, to shew the real application of Ptolemy's measurements to the countries included in this chapter.

The meridian of London, according to Ptolemy, is 20° . At the south coast this meridian falls midway between that of the centre of the Isle of Wight, which is $19^{\circ} 20'$, and of the river Trisanton, which is $20^{\circ} 20'$. North from London it falls exactly on York, whose meridian is 20° ; and still further north, on Catterick, which also is 20° .

Starting thus on the south, from a point between Vectis and the river Trisanton, which the former chapter has pretty clearly determined, to Londinium, Eboracum, and Caturactonium, whose identity with London, York, and Catterick, has never been and cannot be doubted; let this meridian be traced and marked on a correct map of the country. Between Catterick and York it can be ascertained what is the actual distance which Ptolemy gave in these parts to a degree of latitude. He gives the latitude of Eboracum $57^{\circ} 20'$, and of Caturactonium, 58° ,

making the distance 40'. We may therefore take the distance from York to Catterick as his measure for 40'. Carrying on the same meridian beyond Catterick, it will be found 1° to the left of Bremenium of the Otadeni, whose longitude is given 21° , a place long since identified, by an inscribed stone and other remains, as High Rochester in Northumberland; and $1^{\circ} 30'$ right of the estuary Ituna, whose longitude is given as $18^{\circ} 30'$,—a point usually conceived to be, and which our further work will shew, is the inner part of Solway Frith, probably at Bowness. The transverse distance, then, from High Rochester to Bowness is $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and the meridian of 20° , being 1° from the first, and $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ from the second place, it will pass almost exactly over Haltwhistle in Northumberland, near the Cumberland border; the direction of Ptolemy's meridian still following the line it took from York to Catterick. Omitting for the present Corda of the Selgovæ, whose longitude, given as 20° , shews that it is on the London meridian, but whose identity has yet to be determined, we proceed at once to find the extremity of the meridian.

History, from the time of Agricola, shews that the estuary of Clota, Glota, or Glotta, is that of the Clyde. The meridian of it, according to Ptolemy, is $22^{\circ} 15'$; and that this point is quite at the mouth of the river, and not of the estuary of Clyde (that is to say, at the inner, and not the lower part of the estuary), is clear, because Ptolemy's figures make it only 65 minutes distant from the point he takes on the eastern estuary Boderia or Bodotria, which all history, from the time of Agricola, has shewn to be the Frith of Forth; the two famous estuaries, Clota and Boderia, approaching each other from the opposite seas, and almost, as the Romans said, dividing off the further country into another island. The point taken by Ptolemy in the Clyde was, agreeably to his distances, near to Dumbarton, the ancient Alcluith. His meridian of 20° , therefore, passed $2\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ to the left of this point on the Clyde, which he places on the north shore or side of Scotland. In his description of the northern nations of Scotland, and at the west extremity, Ptolemy places the people called the Novantæ; and his figures shew that the meridian of London, 20° , passed through their country after traversing

the Selgovæ. His tables of the whole of North Britain are given presently. He also tells us that the Novantæ were under the peninsula of Novantum, and that this peninsula had a promontory of the same name. For the peninsula he gives the meridian 21° . At the meridian, $19^{\circ} 20'$, he places the mouth of the river Abravannus. By his latitudes it appears that the peninsula, with a promontory extending from it, lay forward, out into the sea, 2° of latitude further than the position taken in the Clyde, and $40'$ of latitude further than the coast where the river Abravannus discharged. His longitudes shew that between the Abravannus and the Clyde was a continuous coast-line, with the Rerigonian Bay and the Bay of Vindogara upon it. We have, therefore, the meridian of London arriving at a point on the Scottish shore, in the country of the Novantæ, $40'$ to the right of the mouth of the river Abravannus, $20'$ or $30'$ of the Bay of Rerigonium, and $10'$ to the left of the town of that name, and clearly cutting the line of the sea-shore $135'$ to the left of the embouchure of the Clyde at Dumbarton. The meridian then passed over the sea, and reached towards the Peninsula Novantum, whose position is given 1° to the right of the meridian of London.

The country which remarkably answers to these particulars is Ayrshire on the mainland, and the peninsula of Cantire beyond it. We have here a coast with the river Ayr for the Abravannus, the bay at Irvine for the Rerigonian Bay, the Bay of Vindogara behind Great Cumbray Island, opposite Bute, and further on the estuary which leads up to the Clyde. An expanse of sea separates this coast-line from the peninsula and promontory of Cantire, the London meridian ending on its outer shore, opposite the island Gigha; the isthmus itself being at that deep inlet of the sea which nearly severs Cantire from the mainland, leaving so slight a connection that Camden says the fishermen are accustomed to draw their vessels across the sandy neck from the inner to the outer sea. At this peninsula and promontory of Cantire, facing, as it does, the Atlantic Ocean, it was that Ptolemy believed he had reached the extreme north of the country, and the great northern or Deu-Caledonian Ocean.

For this termination of the meridian of London there is

a confirmatory measurement derived from the distance between York and Catterick. This distance, as already observed, Ptolemy measures 40'. From Catterick to the Peninsula Novantum, his measure is 3° 40', or five and a half times the distance between York and Catterick. On the Ordnance Index Map this distance works out so approximately as to shew that no other place in Scotland can be with as much probability the Peninsula Novantum.

This conclusion is at variance with that propounded by Camden, and ever since almost universally received. Cosmo Innes, indeed, says, twenty years ago, of the Ptolemaic towns north of the Solway Firth, that not one of them had been reliably identified. Camden assigned the peninsula of Novantum to the Mull of Galloway; but to do so gives a still more extraordinary curve to the meridian, actually bending its termination round into a southerly direction, whilst the latitudes and longitudes to be deduced from such a meridian cannot be harmonised with his other identifications. Before his time Cantire had been identified as I now do; and if it was only a happy guess, still I think it was correct.

The meridian of London, as I have described it from Ptolemy, is laid down on the accompanying map. From this meridian it is now possible to lay off the proximate meridians and the latitudes given by Ptolemy. It will be apprehended at once that we have got rid of the strange stretch of North Britain to the east, which has been so great an obstacle to the reception of any authority from Ptolemy, and that the whole district presents the natural and approximately correct combination of its parts.

I now present, from Ptolemy's tables of Albion, all the positions north of the Humber and the English Dee. Although much of this list is beyond the scope of the present chapter, I have judged it most convenient to give the whole. The subsequent references will shew how much of it applies now, and how great would be the difficulty of separating it intelligibly.

The accompanying map shews the country south of the Clyde and the Forth to the Dee and the Humber. The physical geography of the coasts here distinctly accords with Ptolemy. In Scotland the places he names are marked, as I hope to shew another day, they should be identified.

<i>Part of the West Coast.</i>		<i>Part of the East Coast.</i>	
LONG.	LAT.	LONG.	LAT.
Tarvedum quod et Oreas Promontorium dicitur		Post Tarvedum quod et Oreas Promontorium dicitur,	
31° 20'	60° 15'	Virvedrum Promontorium	
Nabæi Flu. Ostia		31° 00'	60° 00'
30 0	60 30	Vernvium Promontorium	
Volsas Sinus		30 *50 _g	59 40
29 0	60 30	Ille Flu. Ostia	
Itys Flu. Ostia		30 00	59 40
27 0	60 *40 _a	Ripa Alta	
Longi Flu. Ostia		29 00	59 40
24 *30 _b	60 40	Loxæ Flu. Ostia	
Epidium Promontorium		28 30	59 40
23 00	60 40	Varar Æstuarium	
Lelannoius Sinus		27 30	59 *30 _h
24 00	60 *00 _c	Tuæsis Æstuarium	
Clota Æstuarium		27 00	*59 00 _i
22 15	59 40	Celnii Flu. Ostia	
Vindogara Sinus		27 00	58 45
21 *20 _d	60 30	Taizalum Promontorium	
Rerigonius Sinus		27 30	58 30
20 30	60 *45 _e	Duæ Flu. Ostia	
Novantum Chersonesus et ejusdem nominis promontorium		26 00	58 *40 _j
21 00	61 40	Tana Æstuarium	
Abravanni Flu. Ostia		25 00	58 *30 _k
19 20	61 00	Tinæ Flu. Ostia	
Iena Æstuarium		24 *00 _l	58 30
19 00	60 30	Boderia Æstuarium	
Devæ Flu. Ostia		22 30	58 45
18 00	60 00	Alauni Flu. Ostia	
Novii Flu. Ostia		21 40	58 30
18 20	59 30	Vedræ Flu. Ostia	
Ituna Æstuarium		20 10	58 30
18 30	58 45	Dunum Sinus	
Moricambe Æstuarium		20 *45 _m	57 30
17 *30 _f	58 20	Gabrantuicorum Portuosus Sinus	
Setantiorum Portus		21 00	57 00
17 20	57 45	Ocelum Promontorium	
Belisama Æstuarium		21 15	56 40
17 30	57 20	Abi Flu. Ostia	
Seteia Æstuarium		21 00	56 30
17 00	57 00		

DISTRICTS OF THE COUNTRY AND THEIR TOWNS.

Juxta Septentrionale latus sub Chersoneso eodem appellati nomine Novantæ habitant apud quos urbes hæ:

	LONG.	LAT.
Lucopibia	19° 00'	60° 20'
Retigionium	20 10	60 40

* Readings vary. a 00. b 00. c 40. d 30. e 50. f 20. g 30. h 20. i 58. j 30. k 20. l 30. m 15.

Sub iis Selgovæ apud quos urbes hæ :

Carbantorigum	19° 00'	59° 20'
Uxellum	18 30	59 20
Conda	20 00	59 40
Trimontium	19 00	59 00

His versus solis ortum magis Septentrionales

Damnii sunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Colonia	.	.	.	.	20	30	59	10
Vandnara	.	.	.	.	21	40	60	00
Coria	.	.	.	.	21	30	59	20
Alauna	.	.	.	.	22	45	59	20
Lindum	.	.	.	.	*23	00	59	30
Victoria	.	.	.	.	23	30	59	00

Gadeni vero magis Septentrionales.

Otademi autem magis australes sunt, in quibus nrbes h e :

Curia	.	.	.	.	20	10	59	00
Bremenium	.	.	.	.	21	00	58	45

Post Damnios versus solis ortum magis Septentrionales, quasi ad ortum vergentes ab Epidio Promontorio, Epidii sunt. Post quos Ceronēs. Post orientiores Creonēs. Deinde Carnonacæ. Deinde Carini. Et orientiores ultimique Cornabii. A Lelannonio autem sinu usque ad Æstuarium Varar sunt Caledonii et supra eos Caledonia Sylva, quibus magis orientales sunt¹ Cantæ. Post quos Logi conjuncti Cornabiis, et supra Logos Mertæ sunt. Sub Caledoniis autem

Vacomagi apud quos hæ sunt urbes :

Banatia	.	.	.	24	00	59	30
Tamia	.	.	.	25	00	59	*20c
Alata Castra	.	.	.	27	15	59	20
Tuesis	.	.	.	26	45	59	10

Sub iis Vennicones, qui magis occidentales sunt habitant, in quibus
urbs

Orrea 24 00 58 45

Deinde qui magis orientales sunt

Tæxali et urbs Devana . . . 26 15 *59d 45

Rursus autem sub Selgovis et Otadenis, ad utraque maria habitant Brigantes, in quibus urbes

Epiaecum	18	30	58	30
Vinnovinm	17	30	58	00
Caturaetonium	20	00	58	00
Calatum	19	00	57	*45e
Isurium	20	00	57	40
Rigodunum	18	00	57	30
Olicana	19	00	57	30

Eboracum et Legio Sexta Nicepho-

rica	.	.	.	20	00	57	20
Camunlodunum	.	.	.	18	*15f	57	00

Apud hos penes Sinum Portuosum Parisi, et urbs

Petuaria	20	40	56	40
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* Readings vary. *a* 23. *b* 20. *c* 30. *d* 58. *e* 30.
 f 45. ¹ Decantæ.

¹ Decantæ.

In the accompanying map the positions of the names differ greatly from what Stuart has laid down. Not understanding how to apply Ptolemy, he unfortunately relied on Bertram's *Richard of Cirencester*: yet, whilst lamenting that the devastations of time have swept away "almost all vestiges of the towns", he says of Ptolemy, "still we have cause to be in a manner grateful that, amid the general destruction, some few wrecks have withstood the storm; and especially that it is yet possible to discover, by their existing remains, the actual position of so many of the stations of Roman Scotland, which are laid down by him who employed his talents some seventeen centuries ago to enlighten the world with a knowledge of his favourite study". (Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, 1845.)

The text will now be limited to the northern counties of England and their borders. We proceed at once to the country of the Brigantes.

Of two of the towns of the Brigantes, Eboracum (York) and Caturactonium (Catterick), their identity is undisputed. Ptolemy gives us the names of eight others, viz., Isurium, Olicana, Calatum, Camunlodunum, Rigodunum, Vinnovium, Epiacum, and lastly Petuaria of the Parisi. Of these places, Isurium has long been identified with Aldborough near Boroughbridge, and the Roman remains there often described. Ptolemy fixes it half way between York and Catterick, and on the line between them. Aldborough is about sixteen of Ptolemy's minutes from York; he makes it about twenty minutes distant. It is not, as he has it, on the same line, but a little off it to the west. It stands by the British and Roman road from York to Catterick, on the banks of the river Ure. The name of the river is imbedded in the Latinized word Isurium. The identification of Isurium with Aldborough is indisputable. Ptolemy is not here literally correct in his figures. He seldom reckons nearer than ten minutes, which would allow always for a difference of five more or less, and never nearer than five minutes. If these allowances are considered, he can hardly be taxed with error in this case; whilst, in all cases, this consideration must be borne in mind. Olicana, in relation to the three towns determined, comes reasonably well to Ilkley on the

river Wharfe, a place with incontestable monuments of Roman antiquity. This identification is also almost universally accepted, even where the evidence of Ptolemy, which entirely favours it, is rejected.

Calatum, thought to be the same with the town Galacum or Galatum of the tenth *iter* of Antonine, was placed by Camden at the ancient fort called Whelp Castle at Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland. Others have placed it at Kendal, and at Overborough where the river Leece joins the Lune in Lancashire. None of these can be accepted. Ptolemy gives its position at fifteen minutes from Olicana, and in direction along the line of the river Wharfe above that town. It might, therefore, be just where Conistone is marked on the Ordnance Maps. Nevertheless, if it be the same place as the Antonine town Galacum, it was not in Wharfedale but in Ribblesdale, near the town of Settle, about seven Roman miles further from Ilkley.

Camunlodunum.—This town survived, with a slight change of name (Campodonum), to the time of Bede. Ptolemy's distances bring it to the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, and I do not hesitate to place it in connection with that mighty earthwork on Castle Hill, Almondbury, described in the *British Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 230, and pp. 406-413. Here again we get back to Camden's identification. In times subsequent to Ptolemy there grew up, under the command of the fortress, and four or five miles from it, a Roman town, whose remains at Slack have in recent years been abundantly discovered.

The next three towns of the Brigantes, Rigodunum, Vinnovium, and Epiacum, are all of them near to Ptolemy's west coast positions. Camunlodunum comes under Ptolemy's arrangements on the same parallel of latitude as the estuary of Seteia, and so a line drawn through Castle Hill, Almondbury, in the direction of Ptolemy's parallel of latitude to the western sea coast, brings us into what is now called Liverpool Bay, viz., that great estuary which receives the waters of the Mersey and the Dee. Ptolemy's measurement in longitude is somewhat short of the true distance, and must be taken to represent the part nearest to Campodonum—that is to say, near to or at the Mersey rather than the Dee. The

point thus indicated is the most southern of the country of the Brigantes on the west coast.

Northward his next point on the sea coast is the estuary Belisama, and near to it the town Rigodunum. I cannot doubt that the estuary is that indent of the sea which ends at the mouth of the Ribble, and that the town is Ribchester, inland upon the same river, with many Roman remains, and its modern name, marking its ancient military importance.

The next position on the coast is Portus Setantiorum, which must have been a haven town, a seaport, unless we accept Camden's correction from some Greek copies that the word should be mere, not haven. Ptolemy's figures give it a position projecting out into the western sea, and near to the modern town of Fleetwood. On this promontory, forming the south extremity of Morecambe Bay, and, perhaps, on the very indent where Fleetwood now is, seems the probable position of Portus Setantiorum. The measurement can by no means allow it, where Camden would have it, at Windermere.

The next position is the estuary Moricambe, which every one will at once assign to the well-known Morecambe Bay, near Lancaster. To do so is, however, to beg the question. I do not know with whom the modern idea originated to confer the name on this expanse of water. Camden knew nothing of it here, but conjectured it to be a Cumberland estuary in the Frith of Solway, where, on maps occasionally, the name is to be found, Moricambe Bay, and adopted in Smith's reduced Ordnance Maps. My interpretation of Ptolemy brings the position much nearest to the Lancashire estuary, and, I think, the point he had for his measurement was within the promontory of Amunderness.

The Brigantian town of Vinnovium is brought by Ptolemy's measurements into proximity with the port of the Setantii and the estuary of Moricambe, midway between them. The place which accords with this is Lancaster, the Roman fortress on the river Lune or Lone. A chief difficulty which the identification of Ptolemy's Vinnovium has hitherto presented, has been that another place named Vinovia has, from Camden's time, been confused with it. Vinovia can be satisfactorily placed on

the other side of the Brigantian country when we come to deal with the Antonine *iters*, whilst it is quite clear that Ptolemy recorded the name of a place on the west coast.

Epiacum is the last to be considered of Ptolemy's western Brigantian towns. Allowing his figures to speak for themselves, it was the most northerly of the western towns, and in the parts approaching to the estuary of Ituna. The position denoted is about at Keswick in Cumberland on the Derwentwater, from the most ancient times a mining station for copper. Camden was not very wide of the mark in fixing it, by an actual visit to the neighbourhood in 1599, lower down the Derwent at Papcastle; to this spot he was led by the numerous monuments of the Romans found there. The Roman occupation of the Brigantes' country was a new thing when Ptolemy wrote, and his places are not Roman but national towns, some of which sank into insignificance and oblivion under the Romans. It is not, therefore, a matter for disappointment if occasionally no trace can be obtained of a place which he designates by name. Since Camden's time the name of Epiacum has been transferred by antiquarians to Lanchester in Durham. At this interesting place, over fifteen years ago, I heard Dr. Collingwood Bruce describe the extensive Roman remains it possesses, and speak on its identification with Epiacum. What he then said of Epiacum, and has since printed in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, was much more cautious and reserved than what has appeared in his book on the Roman Wall. He had relied on Bertram's *Richard of Cirencester*, and with others had associated Epiacum with the neighbourhood of Vinovia. If any regard is paid to Ptolemy, Lanchester has no possible claim to be identified with Epiacum, and when it is seen that Vinovia is not Ptolemy's Vinnovium, every reason for carrying Epiacum away from the western coast has vanished.

North of the estuary Ituna and of the eastern part of the country of the Brigantes, was the territory of the Selgovæ. Although this territory is now almost wholly in Scotland, yet it took in a small part of the county of Cumberland, and for this reason, and for the application to it subsequently, of the second of the Antonine *iters*, it

becomes necessary to notice it, as forming for the present the conclusion of our eastern coast line. The name of the Selgovæ survives in the name now given to the Ituna Frith, viz., Solway Frith, and, in one little village on the Scottish coast, called Solway. The coast of the Selgovæ bends suddenly away to the west from the head of the Ituna estuary, forming its north shore. The coast positions named by Ptolemy beyond the Ituna estuary which come into their country are the mouth of the river Novius and the mouth of the river Deva, which latter may even have been beyond their country.

Three of the towns of the Selgovæ are in a group near to the Novius, and between that river and the country of the Brigantes. They are—Uxellum, close to the mouth of that river; Carbantorigum, directly inland from the last, and not far off; and Trimontium, half way on from these two, towards the Brigantian border. The river Novius can be only the river Nidd, called also the Neith and Nith. Camden thought Ptolemy had miswritten the name Novius for Nodius or Nidius. I am satisfied with the identification by the mere position of it. Near by, and corresponding with Uxellum,—a name cognate with Ocelum or Ocellum, which occurs elsewhere—is Caerlaverock, near the sea-shore and the river, and, as its name imports, an ancient British caer or city. Inland from it, probably at the remains described in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, at Raeburn-foot, in the upper part of Eskdale, Car-bantorigum must be looked for. Camden, by its first syllable, appropriated it to Caerlaverock. Professor Rhys thinks that here *car* and *caer* are not the same thing. *Bantorigum* is certainly not the same as Laverock, for a glance at the position which Ptolemy indicates proves that Carbantorigum was not on the sea-shore. The third town of the group, Trimontium, is not referred to by Camden. It has since been justly identified with a remarkable British settlement, both a city and a fort, now called Birrenswark or Burnswark; this is on a most commanding hill on the east side of the river Annan. A conical mount on the centre of the hill is occupied by a fort, a sort of acropolis; on each side of it, on a plateau, is another fort, whilst connecting links between the two compass the centre around. The name

Trimontium is undoubtedly descriptive of a place with three mounts, and seems to have referred to the central fort and those on the flanking brows of the hill. In Gordon's journey the connecting links are described as "beautiful tumuli or turrets", well preserved 160 years ago. The appellation *birren* is applied in these parts to many earth-works. So the neighbouring Roman camp near Middleton is called "birrens", and so are works at Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland. I am forced to differ from those who have carried this town, Trimontium, and along with it the next to be named, quite away to another part, viz., to the upper part of the river Tweed.

Corda, the inland town of the Selgovæ, was far away from the rest and from the Brigantes, and placed, as already mentioned, on Ptolemy's meridian of London. His figures bring it to the head waters of the Esk, near Eskdalemuir. The river Deva, which was at or near the extremity of the sea-coast of the Selgovæ, is the Dee, where Kirkcudbright now stands.

To take up now the survey of the east coast of the Brigantes and begin it at its south extremity, we have a group of three positions strongly marked in the physical geography of the coast, and one Brigantian town expressly mentioned in relation to one of them. The places are, Gabrantuicorum Portuosus Sinus, Ocelum Promontorium, and Abi Fluvius Ostia. The people of the district are the Parisi, "penes Sinum Portuosum", and their town Petuaria. The Portuosus Sinus (Gr. *Eulimenos Kolpos*) is on the same parallel of latitude as the estuary Seteia of the west coast; the other positions are southward in near proximity to it, and the grouping of the positions about the town Petuaria, of the Parisi, brings the whole of them to the country of the Brigantes, forming its south-east extremity. That this extremity is against the river Humber and the sea-coast is a physical fact not to be denied; and, therefore, the river Abus is the Humber, and the other two coast positions are on the coast east of it, and their positions are the promontory Ocelum at Spurn Head, and the Portuosus Sinus at Hornsea. For the Abus and the promontory Ocelum these identifications have been universally accepted. After Roman times, the name of the Humber became

substituted for the Abus. Some have fancied that in the word Ab-us the name of the Ouse, one great feeder of the Humber, is contained in the last syllable. Another great feeder is the Derwent, flowing all through Derbyshire; it seems worthy of note that, in Saxon times, this shire was written Der-aby. In either case, the name Abus has retreated up from the Humber. The position which Ptolemy gives it is at the mouth of the estuary. Spurn Head is a shifting bank; the point of the promontory has changed in position by both the accumulation and removal of sea and alluvial deposits since Roman days. If not actually where we place Spurn Head in modern days, the promontory Ocelum was at or near the permanent land about Kilnsea; but, in any case, I do not question the truth of the commonly accepted idea which places the promontory Ocelum at the mouth of the Humber.

As to *Portuosus Sinus*, Camden thought it to be the little village of Sowerby, or, as he wrote it, Sureby, at the top of Burlington Bay, close to Flamborough Head, he taking this name for a translation into English of the name given by Ptolemy. This proposition has met with little favour, but out of it has grown a belief that Burlington Bay is this *Portuosus Sinus*, whilst again argument has been expended to appropriate the name to Filey Bay on the north side of Flamborough Head. My application of the measurements having directed me to Hornsea, I went to the place, and there I found what must have been the most remarkable haven on the coast in Roman times. Just behind the village inland is a lake or mere, as it is called, of about 400 acres of water; the seaward end of the lake is choked by alluvial deposit, forming a slight embankment, through which the water cuts a gully or outlet of 8 or 10 ft. wide into an open marsh some quarter of a mile wide, which extends thence to the sea about three-quarters of a mile distant. I found a walk through much of this marsh forbidden by the water then out upon it, and in flood times it is frequently covered by sea-water; on arriving at the sea it became wonderful that the marsh was ever free, so slight is the barrier of sand blown up by the wind. At the sea-beach, and just outside of it, where the gully from

the lake pierces the sandbank, lay the wreck of a coal brig driven up by a storm a night or two before, and looking as if the next wave must have lifted it into the marsh. An iron framed pier just built, and not yet out of the hands of the contractor, stretched straight out to the sea just north of where the stream or beck delivers through the sandy shore. The vessel had been driven through the pier, breaking up three or four of its bays, and leaving its seaward end separated, as if to show that no better fate awaits this than befell, in olden times, the sea defences forgotten by the modern builders. On either hand the shore rapidly rises into cliffs. At the rate at which the sea gains yearly on these cliffs, it has gained into the land almost three Roman miles since Roman times;¹ so that in those ages the marsh, then the outer haven, with a narrow front to the sea, was a bay of shallow water extending inland almost three miles, having an inner haven more inland, into which the shipping of those days could readily be drawn; on the whole forming unmistakably the *Portuosus Sinus* of Ptolemy.

To understand the value of such a harbour to the Brigantes or Parisi, read the description of the British ships given by Cæsar in his war with the Veneti, and notice the anecdote of the deception their peculiar build caused, as on another occasion is related in the *Strategematon* of Julius Frontinus. When Commius the Atrebatian turned his arms against Cæsar and fled from Gaul into Britain, Cæsar pursued and, arriving at the shore of Gaul with his troops, he found Commius already embarked, his sails spread and swelling to the wind, and his ships speeding seaward. Cæsar, upon this appearance, at once abandoned the pursuit. In truth, the fleet of Commius

¹ It is on record that from 1546 to 1609 it gained 240 yards; from 1786 to 1836 it gained 133 yards. See Poulson's *Holderness*. Adding together these two periods, 63 years and 50 years, we have the experience of 113 years, in which the sea encroached 373 yards, or just 3.3 yards per ann. Allow 1,450 years from Ptolemy, and the distance is 4,785 yards. Three Roman miles are 4,840 yards. It has been imagined that the encroachment is much more than this, yet looking at the fact that every church which is named on this shore, in the Deanery of Holderness, for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1292, is still marked on the maps, I think the estimate of lost space which I have given an outside one.

was aground, the vessels upright in the mud, the tide being out, and he caused the sails to be hoisted in the hope, justified by the result, that the sight of them would deceive into the belief that all were afloat and pursuit vain. Cæsar describes the ships of the Veneti and of their allies from Britain: the keels or bottoms were flat compared to the Roman form of construction, fitting them for the shallows left by the ebbing of the tide, their prows were raised very high, their sails of dressed leather spread upon yards raised up by ropes and tackle to the masts. It is easy to imagine such ships in the shallows of Trisanton, from whence issued, I do not question, some of the very ships which Cæsar described; but, in that part of Britain, such a build is now quite gone out. Here in the north, with only the change from leather to canvas sails, which Cæsar thought they needed, may still be seen the exact type of the ships of the Veneti and of Commius, and of those which anciently filled the shallow waters of the *Portuosus Sinus*.

Hornsea remained a port throughout the middle ages; vessels which frequented it and embarked or discharged their cargoes on its muddy flats, paid toll to St. Mary's Abbey at York if they lay on the north side of the beck which coursed down the middle of the bay; or to the Lord Paramount of Holderness if on the south side. In the reign of Elizabeth, "her highnesses peare" at Hornsea, probably a timber mole extending across the bay to narrow its outlet, seems to have been successfully maintained; but, in the time of James I, it had so greatly suffered by storms that, although £3,000 had been expended on it, it was estimated to require 2,500 tons of timber for repair. Its last calamity as a port seems to have been when, soon after the year 1700, Hornsea church spire fell. It has not been replaced, as though the decay of the port had made the restoration of its once noted sea mark useless. The inner lake had passed out of the use of the port centuries before. Owned for five hundred years by St. Mary's Abbey at York, it came, after some changes, to the ancient family of Constable as a private property, who still hold it.

For the town *Petuaria*, Camden's choice hung between Beverley and Patrington; later antiquaries have more

favoured Patrington. The figures indicate that Petuaria was further from the promontory of Ocelum, and it is not unlikely to have been about Hedon, itself founded on a place anciently called Ravensburg. In Camden's time, tradition gave to Hedon an ancient title to importance which it had lost by the rise close by, in King Edward the First's time, of Kingston-upon-Hull.

The district of the Parisi, to which Petuaria, the promontory Ocelum, and the Portuosus Sinus belong, retains to the present day the distinction of a separate name, Holderness. The introduction into this district of the Gabrantuici holding the Portuosus Sinus is very curious. Perhaps the Gabrantuici, as well as the Setantii on the west coast, were a commercial and seafaring people, whose navy first gave them a command of the port, and afterwards made it profitable to the country by its commerce as well as by its customs and levies.

Ptolemy gives us only two more positions in the country of the Brigantes on the east coast. The next northward from Portuosus Sinus is Dunum Sinus, which comes in appropriately for the extensive bay sheltered from the north by the bold promontory of Flamborough Head. This headland is occupied by an extensive British dun, hence the name of Dunum Sinus, now Burlington Bay.

The next is a long step to the north, to the mouth of the river Vedra, just where the country is narrowest from coast to coast; it can be none other than the mouth of the river Wear. The narrowing in of the land is very distinctly shown by Ptolemy's figures; in fact, he narrows it unduly by carrying the mouth of the Wear much too far inland, leaving only forty-seven Roman miles from the Ituna to the Vedra, where it should be about eighty Roman miles. But here we can well see the sort of difficulty with which Ptolemy was beset in his calculations, for by subsequent ancient writers, with much better opportunities of knowing the distance across the country in this very part where the wall of Hadrian traverses it, the distance in miles has been represented by one at thirty-two miles, and by others up to one hundred and thirty-three miles.

We have to consider only one other river on the east coast and two towns. The mouth of the river Alaunus

I have already had occasion to mention, must be that of the Aln, near Alnwick or Alnmouth, in Northumberland. It was in the country of the Otadeni, as is shown by its proximity to the position indicated by Ptolemy of their two towns, Bremenium and Curia. The latitude and longitude of Bremenium, as given by Ptolemy, lead us distinctly to the line of the ancient British Watling Street, and to the point where Bremenium has long been correctly identified as High Rochester in Northumberland. It has the remains of a strong Roman military station. Camden saw a Roman altar at the place, devoted, according to the inscription it bore, to the tutelary divinities of the Corps of Exploratores of Bremenium. The identity is, besides, supported, as will presently appear, by the measurement of the Antonine *Itinerary*. The other town of the Otadeni, Curia, is close to the (Ptolemy's) meridian of London, and if traceable on the ground at all, is to be looked for around a centre about half way between the towns of Haltwhistle and Wark in Northumberland. In this part of the country a great vallum and dyke, called by some the Black Dike, and by others the Scots' Dike, traverses the country from the north-west towards the south-east, and camps are unusually numerous. At or near Crookbank, on the Warksburn stream, is a probable position for Curia.

A few words must here be said on the countries bordering south of the Brigantes, leaving, to a future occasion, the complete treatment of them. On the eastern part, according to the figures of Ptolemy, were the Coritani, and, on the western part, the Cornavii. The towns of the Coritani—Lindum, 18.40 long., 55.45 lat.; and Rage, 18.00 long., 55.30 lat. The towns of the Cornavii—Devana et Legio Vicesima Nicephorica, 18.30 long., 55.00 lat.; and Viroconium, 16.45 long., 55.45 lat. Further westward still, and altogether westward of the longitude of the Brigantes, he places the Ordovices against the Cornavii—their towns are, Mediolanium, 16.45 long., 56.40 lat.; and Brannogenium, 16.0, long., 56.15 lat. The Antonine *iters*, which form the next part of our subject, run to or from the Brigantian country, directed at certain of these towns, viz., at Lindum, at the station of the Twentieth Legion, and at Mediolanium.

Lindum cannot be any place but Lincoln. The station of the Twentieth Legion was not, according to Ptolemy, on the Dee at Chester, but far from it. He calls the place Devana, and hence it has been assumed it must be the same as Deva. If it had been, it would have immediately concerned the Brigantian part of the *iters*; but Ptolemy's Devana must, as will appear by-and-by, be placed in the midland countries, viz., at Daventry, in Northamptonshire. Mediolanium of the Ordovices is brought by Ptolemy's figures towards or into Wales.

Besides the nations mentioned by Ptolemy, antiquaries have placed three other tribes or nations in, or bordering on, the country of the Brigantes, viz., the Voluntii, the Sistuntii, and the Cangi.

The belief in the existence of the two first arose with the invention of Bertram of Copenhagen. Out of the *Portus Setantii* of Ptolemy, and a passage in the *Ravennas*, in which the word *Sistuntiaci* has probably been written corruptly for the *Estuarium Ituna*, as Gale thought, Bertram invented the *Sistuntii*; out of an inscription found at Ellenborough in Cumberland, given by Camden, in which occurs the word *Volantii*; and out of Camden's doubts about the word, Bertram invented the other people named, and to these two he assigned the whole west side of the country of the Brigantes as confederated with them.

To the Cangi belongs a real existence. They are named in the twelfth book of the *Annals* of Tacitus. Ostorius Scapula, Proprætor of Britain, the second of the governors sent by the Emperor Claudius, found occasion in his first year, even before he had time to put a legion in motion, to chastise and suppress the turbulence of the half-conquered Britons in various parts of the country. For this purpose, he hastily collected some allied forces from the friendly tribes, but drilled to the Roman discipline, and attempted to form a chain of forts from the Sabrina to the Aufona. He was interrupted by the Icenî, who had hitherto been allies of the Romans. Ostorius marched into their country and assaulted and took the position they had chosen for a stand, whereupon the Icenî immediately submitted. This done, the Proprætor led his troops against the Cangi, whose territory he wasted.

“He had now approached near the sea which washes the coast of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongst the Brigantes, obliged the General to return thither.” In the early editions of his work, Camden placed the Cangi in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, and thought Kendal the town *Concangium* where, according to the *Notitia*, was stationed a troop of cavalry of the *Vigiles*. Yet in his first English edition he withdrew this opinion, and doubtingly placed the Cangi in Cheshire. This he did in consideration of the words of Tacitus, of Ptolemy’s mention of the promontory of the Ganganii or Conganii, which he seems to have thought was on that tongue of country between the Mersey and the Dee, and also because on the shore there, certain pigs of lead had been found bearing Roman inscriptions and the word *CEANG*. I pass over his last argument and come to Ptolemy, whose figures will by no means permit the promontory to be, as Camden would have it, in Cheshire, east of the *Ordovices*. Ptolemy places it far to the west of that people, and, therefore, as a western promontory of Wales; Camden never thought of the march of Ostorius Scapula, after the battle with the *Iceni*, being carried to that extremity of the country.

The *Barony of Kendal* suits the circumstances of the march, of the proximity of the country to the sea which washes the Irish coast, and of the General’s sudden return from the Cangi to quell the commotion among the Brigantes. That Kendal is *Concangium* is mentioned as a fact in Jacob’s *Law Dictionary*. “KENDAL, an ancient barony, written *Concangium MS.*” It would be satisfactory if the authority for this statement could be traced. It is not mentioned in the curious and learned work of Thomas Blount of 1670, the earliest of the *Law Dictionaries*. Until a better appropriation of the name is found I see no reason to remove it from Kendal.

Although dwelling in a part of the country of the Brigantes, the Cangi, like the *Setantii* and *Parisi*, had some independence. Twenty years after the march of Ostorius upon the Cangi, *Petilius Cerealis* finally reduced the Brigantes to the condition of a Roman province; after which the Cangi were never noticed separately. Their inde-

pendent name had ceased to be thought of when, sixty years later, Ptolemy described the state of the Brigantes. The town *Concangium* remained, and had its Roman garrison to the last days of the empire.

The *iters* of Antoninus which traverse the country of the Brigantes, are the first, the second, the fifth, the eighth, and the tenth. The treatise upon them will follow this succession, using Roman miles in all the expressions.

ITER I.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO PRETORIUM ESQUE CLVI M.P.

A BREMENIO CORSTOPTUM, XX; VINDOMORA, IX; VINOVIA, XIX; CATARACTONI, XXII; ISVRIUM, XXIV; EBVRACVM, LEG. VI, VICTRIX, XVII; DERVENTIONE, VII; DELGOVITIA, XIII; PRETORIO, XXV.

This route begins at *Bremenium*, which from Ptolemy is already identified as a town of the *Otadeni*, whose country lay to the north of the Brigantes, and shewn to be at High Rochester in Northumberland. The route proceeds southward across the Wall of Hadrian into the eastern parts of the country of the Brigantes, where it terminates. The separate distances are those supported by a majority of authors, and agree with the total given. Where different readings have occurred, they will be noticed as we arrive at the places which they concern. These places lie at the beginning in the county of Northumberland. The route passes in succession through the county of Durham and the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire.

Notwithstanding the title of this *iter*, "A VALLO", it does not commence from, but beyond, the Wall. The same remark will apply hereafter to the commencement of the second *iter*. The author referred not merely to the Wall, but to a district of country dominated by that bulwark.

High Rochester retained the name of *Bremenium* to the end of the Roman occupation of the country; but the only mention of it by that name which occurs is in the catalogue of the *Ravennas*.¹ From the starting-point of

¹ *Habitancum* is a name given to the Roman remains at Risingham, in this neighbourhood, by Camden and Horsley, on the authority of an

the route, Bremenium, the distance to the next station, Corstopitum, is twenty miles (nineteen miles in the Neapolitan MS. of 1417), which reaches exactly to the Tyne at Corbridge, also on the Watling Street, and passes over the Roman Wall, without further mention of it, about two miles before reaching Corbridge. Corbridge is therefore *Corstopitum*. Hard by is the almost obliterated Roman fort of Corchester. Camden is mistaken in his identification of Corbridge for Curia; but his testimony of the extent of ancient remains at Corbridge and Corchester is valuable. Dr. Collingwood Bruce has come to the same conclusion as myself, that at Corbridge was Corstopitum.

Thence to Vindomora, nine miles (Harrison's printed edition has five miles), reaches to Ebchester in Durham, on the river Derwent, and on the line of the Watling Street. It possesses the vallum of a Roman station. The identification of Ebchester for Vindomora is beyond controversy, and the suggestion of it continuously put forward by Horsley, Surtees, and Bruce, may be received with good assurance.

To the next station, Vinovia, the distance, nineteen miles from Ebchester, brings us to the remarkable and important Roman town of Binchester, on the Watling Street, near Bishop Auckland. The chief difficulty in the way of accepting Binchester as Vinovia has lain in the belief that the Vinovium of the Brigantes, mentioned by Ptolemy, is the same place as Vinovia. It is evident, however, that they are two distinct places, Vinovium being fixed by Ptolemy near the west coast, and Vinovia as clearly fixed by the *Antonine Itinerary* on the eastern side of the country.

From Binchester the distance given, twenty-two miles, brings us to Catterick in Yorkshire, undoubtedly the Cataractoni of this *iter*, and the Caturactonium of Ptolemy. The exact site of the Roman town appears to be at Thornborough, near the village of Catterick, and nearer than it to the cataracts of the river Swale.

From the last station, the next distance given, twenty-four miles (from a MS. of about A.D. 1150; Harrison prints inscribed stone they saw there. The name does not occur in any ancient author.

fourteen miles), brings us to Aldborough ; that is to say, Isurium, already mentioned and placed from Ptolemy. A valuable museum of the Roman antiquities of Isurium is to be seen collected and preserved on the spot by Mr. A. S. Lawson and his father, and the pavements and evidences of a wealthy Roman town unearthed by them.

From Isurium to Eburacum, seventeen miles (Hearne's edition says fourteen miles), brings us, by measurement of the *Antonine Itinerary*, and of Ptolemy, and by universal consent, to York. To descant on the Roman antiquities of York would fill a volume. Here Ptolemy and the *Antonine Itinerary*, and two hundred and fifty years later the *Notitia Dignitatum*, record the presence of the sixth legion, whilst numerous inscriptions found and preserved attest the same fact. The very name of the city, but little changed in common parlance, is now in form the daily signature of the Archbishop, *Eboracensis*.

The further progress in this *iter*, beyond York, is subject to much difference of opinion. The name of the place, Prætorium, which is given as its termination, is not mentioned by any other ancient writer, and no monument has been discovered leading to that name. The direction to be taken is to a small extent indicated by the name of the first station, seven miles beyond York, Derventione, evidently a station taking its name from the Yorkshire Derwent. The river Derwent passes through the country from north to south, eastward of York. Three roads cross the river at the distance which would admit of Derventio being placed on either one of them, viz., on the northern road, a position on the west side of the river before reaching Stamford Bridge, another at Kexby being the middle road, and the third, or southern road, at Elvington, before crossing over to Sutton upon Derwent. Camden selected a route which touches none of these, and fixed the station at Aldby on the Derwent, north of all three roads. It is two to three miles too far from York, and much too far from Market Weighton, which he designated for the next station. Canon Greenwell has proposed to fix Derventio as far up the Derwent as Malton ; but this could only be feasible if we could read seventeen for seven miles. Reynolds having made up his mind that Prætorium, the final station, was Ptolemy's Petuaria (or, as he writes it, Petu-

arium), and failing to appreciate Ptolemy's figures, placed it at Flamborough, and took the most direct route for that place. Thus he made Derventio fall at or about the northern of the three places which I have indicated as possible, viz., at Stamford Bridge. He placed the next station, Delgovitia, at the village of Fimber, and so reached Flamborough for Prætorium. He knew of no Roman antiquities at either of these places, and grounds his selection of the route on the fact that it is a Roman road in nearly the whole distance, although Camden was not aware of it. I have already shewn that Ptolemy's Petuaria is far away from Flamborough, and that Dunum is his name for that fortress and promontory. Overlooking a great extent of country, and commanding an ocean view round three fourths of a circle, as a fortress holding a position in those days all but impregnable, Dunum must have been a place of importance. It is a plausible idea that the Antonine writer might have given it the name of Prætorium from its being then the prætor's seat of admiralty on this coast, whilst, although Reynolds finds a little difficulty in measurement, the entire distance from York admits fairly of this application of the name.

We must however turn again to Camden. If he had taken his route by either Kexby or Elvington for Derventio, and thence to Market Weighton for Delgovitia, he would have been correct in distances so far on this *iter*. It was not the distance, however, but its neighbourhood to the ancient idol town of Godmanham, that induced Camden, on slender grounds, to fix Delgovitia at Weighton. In this belief he has had no small following.

Yet from this place another separation of opinion occurs. It has been extensively advocated, in opposition to Camden, that the *iter* leads from Market Weighton to Brough on the Humber; and crossing that river to the Ermine Street in Lincolnshire, it terminates at or about Broughton, Scawby, or Hibaldstow. I have elsewhere pointed out that the Antonine *Itinerary* appears to omit the distance of the water passage in crossing the Severn, and so here, in crossing the Humber, about two miles of water passage omitted would carry on the distance of twenty-five miles from Weighton to

Hibaldstow for Prætorium. As to Roman remains, however, it has very little claim or pretension, and the chief temptation in this direction seems to be the idea that the route, although not expressed so, went on by the Ermine Street to Lincoln, and connected itself with the midland *iters* which do converge on that city. I could have more sympathised with those who would have the *iter* cross the Humber if any ground could be shown for leading it to the grand Roman remains at Castor, or Thong Castor, not many miles from Hibaldstow, but nevertheless too far to apply the distance of twenty-five miles from Weighton.

Reverting again to Camden, he leads the *iter* from Weighton to Patrington, affirming the name to be derived from the Petuaria of Ptolemy, and, as Reynolds does, treating Prætorium as a mere corruption of Petuaria, only that Reynolds would have it at Flamborough, and Camden either at Beverley, or, apparently on second thoughts, at Patrington. The distance from Weighton, however, forbids the acceptance of either; Beverley is much less than twenty-five miles, and Patrington is much more. There are two places in Holderness which are suitable in distance; one is Hedon, which we have already seen occasion from Ptolemy to designate for Petuaria of the Parisi; the other, Aldborough, on the coast of the German Ocean, about seven miles from the Portuosus Sinus of Ptolemy. By an exhaustive process of reasoning, the latter would seem to be the likeliest position. Patrington, I shall show hereafter almost certainly was in Roman times TUNNOCELUM, taking its name from the promontory OCELUM. Hedon, we have seen, was PETUARIA; Flamborough was DUNUM; Aldborough is left wanting a name, and to it its true distance gives the name PRÆTORIUM. From York the *iter*, therefore, is Derven-tione, *i.e.*, Kexby-on-the-Derwent or Elvington, seven miles; Delgovitia, *i.e.*, Weighton, thirteen miles; and Prætorio, *i.e.*, Aldborough, twenty-five miles.

ITER II.

A VALLO AD PORTVM RITVPIS, CCCCLXXXI M.P.

A BLATO BYLGIO, CASTRA EXPLORATORVM, XII; LVGVVALLIO, XII; VOREDA, XIV; BROVONACIS, XIII; VERTERIS, XIII; LAVATRIS, XIII; CATARACTONI, XIII; ISVRIVM, XXIV; EBORACVM, XVII; CALCARIA, IX; CAMBODVNO, XX; MANVCIO, XVIII; CONDATE, XVIII; DEVA, LEG. XX, VIC-TRIX, XX.

The *iter* thence passes on into the midland and southern counties, out of the purview of this present chapter.

The total length given for this *iter*, 481 miles, is short of the actual total of the constituent numbers by eighteen miles. Whether the inaccuracy is in the total, or in any or which of the constituent numbers, it is important to show. Fortunately, certain places in the *iter* are undeniably identified with the names here given them independently of the proofs of this *iter*. Such are Catterick, Aldborough, and York; and, as I conceive, Carlisle, Manchester, and Chester. Thus it can be recognised that, as far as York, the subordinate figures are not seriously questionable. From York to Manchester the distances are deficient, and to supply the deficiency will increase the discrepancy between the expressed total and the actual total of the distances. This shows that the expressed total is erroneous, and favours the view that the subordinate distances may be accepted unless convicted of error in any particular case.

In the chapter on the southern counties the case of a discrepancy between the total expressed and its constituents occurred in discussing the thirteenth *iter*. The total in that case was in excess of the constituent distances; and the excess supports the suggestion which arose from other circumstances connected with that *iter*, that a name and a distance had by accident with some early transcriber dropped out of the list. Another instance of a like accident was there referred to, and it occurs in the second *iter*, which we are now to examine. I conceive that a station and a distance is wanting between Calcaria and Camboduno, and the distance XVI m. p.; thus enlarging the discrepancy from eighteen to thirty-four miles, and not, as in the other case, helping to remove it. Postponing to a future occasion when the entire *iter* shall have been examined, the further consi-

deration of the amendment needed in the expressed total, we now proceed to examine so much of the *iter* as belongs to the northern counties.

The course of the *iter* is at first in a south-east diagonal direction across the country of the Brigantes, from its eastern side beyond Carlisle to Catterick, thence to York, and then, by a contrary diagonal, from York to the south-west into Cheshire. The *iter* begins not precisely "A Vallo", but two stations beyond it.

The third station, Luguvallium or Lugu-Vallum, as its name imports, was at the wall. Bede knew the city upon the wall, which we call Carlisle, by the name Lugu-ballia; Nennius gave the name the British form Caer Luillid and Ligualid, and the all but universal consent of antiquaries seems to be unimpeachable in conferring the name Luguvallum on Carlisle. We must, therefore, look for the commencement of the *iter* twenty-four miles distant beyond it, and this will take us into the country of the Selgovæ of Ptolemy, and to the immediate neighbourhood of their town, Trimontium or Burnswark.

Three to four miles distant to the south-east, and close to Middleby Kirk, is an extensive Roman camp, also called Birrens or Burrens, which, according to inscriptions found there, has been occupied by both the Second and Twentieth Legions, and the second cohort of the Tungri-ones; here, following the opinions expressed by others and adopted by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, I conceive the *iter* begins with *Blatum Bulgium*. Something over twelve miles¹ from it is the border tower of Netherby, about which a Roman station is marked by abundant remains, and by an inscription of the Second Legion. Bruce speaks of the remains of the military work or camp as nearly obliterated, and its position as having originally been a bank on the very shore of the Solway Frith, but from which for many centuries its waters have retired. Here was, in the early time of the Roman occupation, the *Castra Exploratorum*, a watch station, the second position of the *iter*. From it to the third station Lugu-vallum is less than twelve miles, just as the first measurement rather exceeds it; the two together correcting each other.

¹ In the MS. of 1417, in the Neapolitan Library, the distance is 10; in the MS. Longol., 1512, it is 15; and the same in Wesseling, Oxon. Cod.

As in the first *iter*, so now the second crosses the wall into the station without any allusion to that special landmark other than is contained in the name Lugu-vallium or Lugu-vallum.

From Lugu-vallium at Carlisle, the distance fourteen miles to Voreda, reaches to Castle-Steads at Plumpton Wall, Old Penrith; a fortified station on the Roman road to the south, overhanging the river Peterill, which passes it on the west. It produces abundant marks of Roman antiquity.

Thence thirteen miles to Brovonacis brings it to Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland, following the road through Penrith. The position of the station is no doubt at the spot there called Whelp Castle and Birrens, marked by Roman remains. Horsley claimed for it the ancient name which I assign to it. Different ancient names have been assigned for it by Camden and others.

From Kirkby Thore, thirteen miles,¹ brings us to Brough under Stanmore, or Church Brough for Verteris.² Camden writes it Burgh under Stanmore, and by accident more than by science assigned to it what I believe is correctly its Roman name. A Roman road passes through it, but no other Roman remains are on record here. Yet, as Verteris is named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, as the station of the commander of a troop of Directores, it must have retained importance to a late era. It is the last place in Westmoreland in this route.

To the next station, Lavatris, the distance is fourteen miles, which brings us to Bowes in Yorkshire. This place has been found rich in Roman antiquities which give it an undeniable title to be considered an important Roman station. It stands upon the Roman road we have been pursuing. Camden thought the name derived from the little stream hard by, which in his time was still heard of as the river Laver. It has produced an inscription to the Emperor Hadrian, and two inscriptions indicating the presence here of the First Cohort of the Thracians in the time of Virius Lupus, Proprætor of Britain under the Emperor Severus.

¹ In one or two authorities the distance given is 20.

² Professor Rhys remarks on this name: "Verteris seems to have been properly translated into Brough or Burgh, as the Welsh word *gwerthyr*, which ought to be its equivalent, is supposed to mean a fortification."

The next stage is thirteen miles to Cataractoni, *i.e.*, Catterick, but in three copies the distance varies, being given XVI, XVIII, and XXVI; whilst in the fifth *iter*, presently to be discussed, and which here pursues the same route, the distance given is XVIII, which appears to be correct, or nearly so. Here the second *iter* falls into the route of the first, and accompanies it to Isurium and Eburacum, giving in both *iters* the same figures of distance at these two places with no greater reason for doubt than at the latter of them a substitution of XIV in one edition (Hearne's), and of XVIII in another (Aldus and Simler), for what the majority give as XVII m. p.

From Eburacum (York) the distance given is nine miles to Calcaria, which by measurement and by universal consent is Tadcaster.

Immediately following, a difficulty of measurement occurs. The next distance given is CAMBODUNO, twenty miles; but as that place is fixed at eighteen miles from Manucium, which on very strong grounds is thought to be Manchester, the Antonine *Itinerary* gives us only thirty-eight miles to get from Tadcaster to Manchester, where the distance actually measures fifty-four miles. But the distances affixed to Manucium and Cambodunum are not rendered suspicious or uncertain by any variations in reading of different copies. What if we accept them? and measuring back from Manchester for Manucium, as from a place whose identity is assured, we are brought to the end of the two distances together, just to Holbeck in the south-west outskirts of Leeds. When Leeds first emerges into history, it was the centre of a little independent principality not 100 years after the departure of the Romans, and the principality was called Loidis. Although in the heart of the Saxon kingdom of Deira, it retained its independence all through the Saxon era; that it had a separate state in Roman times is probable. The gap in the measurements from Leeds to Tadcaster is sixteen Roman miles. That the gap is in this part and not beyond Cambodunum is shown by other circumstances, which fix the locality of that station. My suggestion therefore, is, that one entry has here dropped into oblivion, and that we should have had, LOIDIS XVI.

The next station is Cambodunum, with the distance

twenty miles. From Ptolemy we have already connected it with Castle Hill, Almondbury. That it was on this side of the territory of Leeds is clear from the position which Ptolemy's measurement gives in conjunction with the facts which Bede mentions. He tells us that it was in the province of Deira, and that Bishop Paulinus built a "basilica" in Campodonum soon after the conversion of Edwin, King of Northumbria, which would be about A.D. 620. His British subjects, however, having risen against Edwin, and slain him at Hatfield in Yorkshire, they burnt the "basilica" at Campodonum, together with the whole town; the stone altar of the church was still preserved in Bede's time by the Abbot Thridulf in his monastery in Elmet Wood; at Berwick-in-Elmett the name is retained to our own day; it is eight or nine Roman miles beyond Leeds from Campodonum. Bede relates that, after this destruction of Campodonum, the Northumbrian kings removed their town to the territory called Loidis, beyond which, it is therefore clear, it had been when at Campodonum. Ptolemy wrote the name in Greek, *Kamounlodounon*; the Latinised versions have, *Camunlodunum*; the *Itinerary*, *Cambodunum*; and Bede, *Campodonum*; the Saxon version is a translation of the last, *Dona-felde*, the field or plain by the Dun, or hill fortress. That the noble fort and position on Almondbury Hill are herein referred to I cannot doubt, and that the position of the town at Slack, on the plain which this overlooks at a distance of five miles, is the point aimed at in the *Itinerary*, is in a high degree probable. The distance, twenty miles from Leeds, carries us, it is true, too far, between three and four miles beyond it, to a point in the open country abreast of Slaithwaite Hall, and there the distance from Manchester compels us to leave it. Possibly, like Loidis, *Cambodunum* was a territory, and the measurement given is to the boundary.

From Mancium, eighteen miles, the measurement is taken from the site known to be that of a British and Roman town in the present city of Manchester, at what, in recent times, was the Castle Field. It is on the north bank of the river Medlock, at the south end of Allport Street. The route from Slack and Slaithwaite Hall has the Roman road visible in many parts, according to the

Ordnance Map. Inscriptions discovered prove the occupation of Manchester by Roman forces. The name is written in some copies Mancunium. Camden and almost all succeeding antiquaries have identified it with Manchester.

Thence to Condate, eighteen miles (XVIII, written XXXVIII in Harrison's second edition), reaches to Lostock Green, full two miles short of Northwich in Cheshire, and in the country of the Cornavii of Ptolemy, though he does not mention this town by name. It is out of the district of the Brigantes, and of the country allotted to this chapter, but it is convenient to the subject to mention the station here. Without any assigned reason, Camden placed this station at Congleton, many miles too far off from Manchester. Middlewich, and close to it Kinderton, have been claimed for the station, but the distance will not apply to them. Horsley fixed upon Northwich, but the distance reaches only to Lostock, where a Roman road branches off to Middlewich, six miles distant.

From Condate to Deva, where the Antonine *Itinerary* records the station of the Twentieth Legion, the distance given is twenty miles, and the numeral is unchallenged. This is the correct distance from Lostock through Northwich to Chester. From the time, when Antoninus from its position on the Dee called the city Deva, to the present day, it has an unbroken chain of history in material or written monuments. Numerous inscriptions referring to the Twentieth Legion are extant here at their headquarters and are frequent throughout the north country. Ptolemy gives the name Devana to the station of the Twentieth Legion, and though he places it in the country of the Cornavii, as perhaps Chester is, yet by his measurement he removes it far away into the midlands. Apparently Ptolemy knew of the City Deva of the Cornavii, but his information confused it with another place, Devana. The solution of this confusion will be attempted in the chapter on the middle portion of England.

ITER V.

This *iter* proceeds from south to north. It commences at Londinium, and arrives at Lindum, which from Ptolemy is a town of the Coritani, whose territory he borders southwards upon the eastern territory of the Bri-

gantes. The territory of the Coritani will be more fully treated of with the midland counties; but their town Lindum, *i.e.*, Lincoln, forms a good starting point in reference to the progress of the *iter* into and through the northern counties, because Lindum is one of the stations whose identity is beyond question.

The succeeding places are, SEGELOCIS, XIV; DANO, XXI; LEGEOLIO, XVI; EBURACO, XXI; ISUBRIGANTUM, XVII; CATARACTONI, XXIV; LAVATRIS, XVIII; VERTERIS, XIII; BROCAVO, XX; LUGUVALLIO, XXII. At York it falls into and returns along the same road by Aldborough and Catterick, with the first and second *iters*. The total length of the fifth *iter* is given CCCXLIII m. p. The actual total of the constituents is 441.

From Lincoln to Segelocis, the distance fourteen miles, reaches to Littleborough on the Nottinghamshire border. This identification was proposed by Camden, and has been very generally accepted. From Littleborough to Danum, twenty-one miles, carries on the route to Doncaster in the country of the Brigantes. Here, again, we have the satisfaction of the support of Camden's opinion, who further shows that it is mentioned in the *Notitia* as being garrisoned by Crispianian cavalry about the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and is recorded by Nennius in the ninth century as one of the thirty-three cities of Britain.

From Doncaster the distance given is sixteen miles to Legeolio. Camden, on slender grounds, placed this at Castleford, at the junction of the rivers Aire and Calder, and three miles from Pontefract. Leland had previously fixed on Pontefract itself on no stronger grounds. Opinions have wavered between these two places. We have two distances here to guide us; for the next station being Eburacum, twenty-one miles distant, the position of Legeolio must be determined by that distance from York as well as by the sixteen miles from Doncaster. The place which agrees with these conditions is Brotherton, on the river Calder, and removed from Castleford or Pontefract, under four miles, as the crow flies, from either. From Brotherton the distance to York is just twenty-one miles by the road through Tadcaster, *i.e.*, Calcaria. At Tadcaster the fifth *iter* falls into the route of the second: at York these two are joined by the first *iter*,

and all three run together to Aldborough, called in the fifth *iter*, Isu-Brigantum, and thence to Catterick, the distances given being confirmatory and identical in all three.

From Catterick to Lavatris the route returns to the north-west along the second *iter*, the distance given being eighteen miles, which we have already seen reason to establish as a correction on that given in the second *iter* bringing us to Bowes. Thence to Verteris is now given thirteen miles instead of fourteen, as in the second *iter*, which seems only to imply that the distance might be a long thirteen or short fourteen miles, and confirms the identification of Verteris at Brough-under-Stanmore.

Two stages of the *iter* remain to be considered, viz., from Verteris to Brocavo, and thence to Luguwallium, twenty-two miles. In the second *iter* the distance between Verteris and Luguwallium is forty miles; in this *iter* forty-two. It might be thought that this slight difference would permit of the *iter* being supposed to return by the same route as the second, between these two places, and, if so, Brongham Castle, which Camden relying only on the name supposed to be Brocavum, is the likeliest place. Yet it seems to me that the different distance and difference of stations between Verteris and Luguwallium indicate a different route. If the fifth *iter* follows the Roman road of the second back to Kirkby Thore, it there passes unnoticed the station of a nearly related name, Brovonacis, and turning off northerly by the maiden way it went to Kirkland at a point called Bank Hall. This spot is out of Westmorland and just within the Cumberland border. To the south-east about a mile distant on one side lie the ancient remains called Haning Walls; in the opposite direction and much nearer is a camp. Bank Hall was probably the measure point on the road for Haning Walls, which may thus have been Brocavum. From hence the *iter* went to Carlisle by the direction of Melmerby, and thence in a tolerably direct line as the distance requires across the river Eden, near Armathwaite or Hornby, and so to Luguwallium.

ITER VIII.

The progress of this *iter* is from York to London. In its first part the route returns along the same ground on

which the fifth *iter* advanced, viz., between York and Lincoln. The distances given are the same, and there is no variation of reading, so that the measurements of both are satisfactorily confirmed; yet there is a perplexing variation in the names, as may be seen by placing the two *iters* side by side, the fifth *iter* reading upwards, and the eighth downwards:

ITER V.

Eburaco

xxi

Legeolio

xvi

Dano

xxi

Segelocis

xiv

A Lindo

ITER VIII.

Ab Eburaco

xxi

Lagecio

xvi

Dano

xxi

Ageloco

xiv

Lindo.

The course and distances of the two *iters* being the same, Legeolio and Segelocis are unquestionably the same places as Lagecio and Ageloco. This undoubtedly suggests and justifies considerable liberty of interpretation in the names where the distances do not refuse it, and where other circumstances favour it.

For the identification of the stations there is nothing to add to what has been said under the fifth *iter*.

ITER X.

A GLANOVENTA MEDIOLANVM, CL. M.P.

GALAVA, XVIII; ALONE, XII; GALACVM, XIX; BREMETONACIS, XXVII; COCCIO, XX; MANCVNIO, XVII; CONDATE, XVIII; MEDIOLANO, XVIII.

The constituent distances fall short of the given total by one mile. It might, therefore, be allowable to adopt a reading which gives an addition of *one* to one of the distances. Two such readings occur, as quoted by Reynolds, viz., at Mancunio, the edition of Aldus and Simler has XVIII, and at Mediolano XVIII. A variation given at Galacum, on the Vatican MSS., substitutes IX for XIX; and at Bremetonacis the Longolian MS. gives XXVII, but suggests XXIV. These need not, I think, enter into or interrupt our reasoning on the text I have quoted. At Galacum it seems to be merely the accidental omission of the first x, and at Bremetonacis it is a mere suggestion

offered. Mr. Just mentions that in Wesseling's edition the total is given CI, which seems to be a typographical error of I for L.

Thirty-three years ago, Mr. Just, after undertaking a personal examination of the district to determine the course of this *iter*, said, "We know not with certainty where it begins, nor where it ends." Down to the present time no more certainty has been attained in respect to the extremities; nor, indeed, as to any of the stations. The only one on the route whose identification has obtained general acceptance is Mancunium, taken to be the same place as Manucium of the second *iter*, and so deemed Manchester. This identification one or two writers have questioned in the last half century; yet, as it seems to me, without any sufficient reason.

As representing the most deliberate and formal expressions of opinion, and the great variety of it which has prevailed, I give a table of the identifications proposed by six authors, and the dates of their opinions, shewing between the places the distances prescribed by the tenth *iter*, and the distances in Roman miles, measured on the Ordnance Map, between the places selected by each author.

Modern Names and Distances in Roman Miles, ascertained from Ordnance Map.

Roman Names and Distances.	Camden, edit. 1610	Gale, 1702	Horsley, 1732	Reynolds, 1799	Just, 1853	Watkin, 1873
GLANOVENTA xviii	The Wentsbeck at Bothall, Northumberland 25	Anterchester, Northumberland, in Glendale 32	Lanchester, Durham 24	Cockermouth Cumberland 12	Whitley Castle 16	Whitley Castle 16
GALAVA xii	Walwick on the Roman Wall 20	Walwick 20	Old Town 11	Keswick 17	Kirkby Thore 17	Kirkby Thore 17
ALONE xix	Whitley Castle 16	Whitley Castle 16	Whitley Castle 18	Ambleside 13	Borrowbridge 17	Borrowbridge 17
GALACUM xxvii	Kirkby Thore, Westmorland 33	Kirkby Thore, 23	Appleby 30	Kendal 21	Overborough 13	Overborough 29
BREMETONACIS xx	Overborough, Lancashire 27	Overborough 27	Overborough 27	Lancaster 22	Lancaster 22	Ribchester 24
COCCIO xvii	Ribchester 28	Ribchester 28	Ribchester 28	Ribchester 28	Ribchester 28	Wigan 17
MANCUNIO xviii	Manchester 23	Manchester 23	Manchester 18	Manchester 24	Manchester —	Manchester 24
CONDATE xviii	Congleton, Cheshire, 62	Congleton 38	Near Northwich 27	Middlewich 20	Not named	Kinderton nr. Middlewich 17
MEDIOLANO	Llanvethlin, Montgomeryshire	Meivod	Drayton, Salop	Whitechurch, Salop	Not named	Chesterton nr. Newcastle-under-Lyme
Totals, } Roman miles } CL	234	217	183	157	—	161

The last row of figures shews how steadily the progress of thought and improved maps have brought about a better approximation to the true distances. Camden does not set out his selection in the order of the *iter*, but merely propounds his opinion of the identity as he lights upon the places in his examination of each county. All the others specify their selection in the form of the *iter*. Camden selected his starting-point from the resemblance of the last part of the name Glanoventa to the name of the stream, the Wents-beck, on which Bothall stands. Gale was guided by the first part, and fixed on a place in Glendale. Horsley claims the right to amend the original figures in no less than five of the eight stages; Reynolds in six, and on wholly imaginary grounds. Just and Watkin claim to use this dangerous privilege to a very small extent. The latter suggests to alter XII to XVII, thinking that a V has dropped out by the carelessness of a transcriber. In the circuitous route of this *iter* there seems to me no occasion to introduce the supposition of lost numerals. Where a straight route has to be filled in between stations so identified as to be fixed points, a want of length in the constituent figures points to some omission of numerals; but in the sinuous route of the tenth *iter* the natural conclusion is that the identification which swells the numerals is unjustly adding sinuosity and length to the route. Reynolds' work on the *Antonine Itinerary* is blemished throughout by prejudices for particular places, and a tendency to fit the figures to the places, and not the places to the figures. The six schemes here exhibited form, after all, a very small part of the attempted elucidation of the tenth *iter*. Almost every station has its own separate commentators.

How, then, is the true course of the *iter* to be mapped? There are, in fact, three places in it whose position can be pretty accurately defined from independent sources. Camden thought there were two; but moderns have reduced them to one. These three places are,—Mancunium, whose identity with Manchester has never, till recent years, been questioned, and then on very slender arguments,—Galacum, Camden thought, and many others have thought, must be the Calatum of Ptolemy; and if so, we have seen from Ptolemy its neighbourhood marked

near to the upper part of Wharfedale, if not in the adjoining valley of Ribblesdale,—Galava I take to be in Westmoreland, at a place thus described in the year 1818 :—“Near Tebay a mount is called Castle How; and in a field called GALLABER stands Brandreth Stone with crosses cut upon it.”¹ These three stations mark out the course of the *iter*.

Galava, whose name is thus closely preserved at Gallaber, is the second station on the *iter*. Its given distance from the first is eighteen miles; and as the course of the *iter* is evidently from north to south, the first station, Glanoventa, will be found at the indicated distance northwards. The place is Penrith. It is situated on the course of the second *iter* between the stations Voreda and Brovonaais, about five miles from the former, and just where an elbow in the second *iter* occurs as it were on purpose to meet this other road. Camden says the name is commonly called Perith, standing not far from the confluence of the rivers Eimot and Loder, “where is seene that round trench of earth which the country people term Arthur’s Table.” On the west side of the town, he says, is a castle repaired in the reign of Henry VI, “out of the ruins of a Roman fort thereby called *Maburg*”. Elsewhere Camden has said that *rith* signifies a ford, and so the name has reference to the passage near here, across the two rivers just named. What this has to do with its Roman name Glanoventa I leave to philologists to suggest, only remarking on the repetition of the name Venta in so many instances in England, and on the situation of this one at the very gate or inlet to the country of the glens and mountains of Westmoreland. Together with the road to Gallaber, another Roman road joined the great road from Carlisle at or near Penrith, viz. the road to Windermere, called High Street, supposed to pass over higher ground than any other Roman road in England, reaching at one part an altitude of 2,700 feet above the sea.

From Glanoventa or Penrith, the distance, eighteen miles, to Galava, reaches to Castle Howe, which is marked on the Ordnance Map close to the village of Tebay. The name Gallaber, which Walford gives to the field in which it is situated, does not appear; but the name Galloper,

¹ *Scientific Tourist*, by T. Walford, F.A.S., F.L.S.

probably intended for it, is marked with the Brandreth Stone, and repeated at a house or hamlet a short distance to the south.¹ The places are at the junction of the Birbeck and the river Lune. The course from Penrith is closely followed by the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway, and the site is very near to Tebay Station. The termination of *Gal-ava*, or varied to *eva* and *aba*, is another form of name common in Roman England. Its modern representative, *aber*, and its cognates, are abundant in Westmoreland and Lancashire. *Lank-aber*, *Brack-enber*, are marked near Appleby; *Cringleber*, *Scaleber* (twice), *Gallaber*, and *Selber*, are grouped round Burton in Kendal. *Aber* means the mouth of a river: often, I suspect, the mouth of a spring, of which the most remarkable instance I know is at Calleva, Silchester, whose splendid spring bursts from the ground about a furlong within the city, forming an impetuous and rushing stream through the line of the Roman city wall. I have thought that the name Cold Harbour, so commonly found in proximity to Roman roads, really speaks of a Calleva, a spring of water, often now dried up.

From Galava, or Gallaber, of the tenth *iter*, a fine Roman road continues down the valley of the Lune, and on to Lancaster and Ribchester, which from Ptolemy we have seen to be Vinnovium and Rigodunum. The exigencies of the Antonine *iter* do not permit us to follow the road towards these places much beyond the next station, Alone.

Alone is twelve miles from Galava. This brings us to Ullathorns or Ellers, about a mile and a half south of the Railway Station of Middleton, on the Ingleton Branch which follows the course of the river Lune or Lone. The idea often entertained, that Alone is the same place as Alionis of the *Notitia* must be dismissed. Alionis is known by an inscription, found before Camden's time, to have been at Whitley Castle in Cumberland, close to the town of Alston. Here is a fine earthwork, forming a fort, defended by an extraordinary number of circumvallations like that near Dorchester. The inscription shews that the fort was garrisoned by the third cohort of the Nervians in the time of Caracalla. We know from the *Notitia* that this cohort was stationed, in the time of

¹ See six-inch Ordnance Map, Westmoreland. Sheet xxviii.

Honorius, at Alionis; and supposing the place to have had this cohort continuously from the time of Caracalla, the identity is established. Camden started the idea that Alionis was also Alone; but this connection of two names is by the measurement shewn to be untenable.

From Alone the distance is given, nineteen miles, to Galacum, which there is much probability must be the Calatum of Ptolemy. In twenty miles it is quite possible to get into Wharfedale, though not so low down the dale as Conistone, the spot indicated most nearly by Ptolemy's figures. But besides the impracticable nature of the country for a road in that direction, the difficulty must be confronted, that the distance thence to Mancunium is greater than the Antonine measurement will allow to Manchester. In order to suit the Antonine distance from Galacum to Mancunium (Manchester), and from Alone to Galacum, we must believe that Ptolemy's figures are only approximately correct for Galacum, and bring it into the valley of the Ribble. The route will then follow the great Roman road of Lonsdale till it arrives near the river Leec. Here an ancient road diverged to the south-west, following the course of the Lune; arriving in about a mile at Overborough, undoubtedly a Roman town.

The course of the tenth *iter* is by another divergence to the south-east, and the distance brings Galacum to a point half way between Lawkland and Giggleswick or Settle, which are on opposite sides of the river Ribble. A Roman road through Langridge, near Preston, Lancashire, and through Slaidburn, points directly to this position.

From Galacum to the next station, Bremetonacis, the distance is twenty-seven miles. Two routes are possible from this place to Manchester, the distances fitting either of them. Both are circuitous. The direct distance to Manchester, from just above Giggleswick, is forty-four miles. The distances given for the route make sixty-four miles. If the *iter* be supposed to curve out to the eastward, as its course towards Giggleswick suggests, it may be supposed to have followed the course of the river Aire about to Keighley, and thence to have gone to Littleborough, near Rochdale, and so to Manchester. I do not think that the paucity of ancient remains on this route is a conclusive argument against it; yet the abundance of

such evidences on another route gives the alternative circuit claims to a preference. The distances of the route supposed by Keighley shew that Galatum has been placed as near to Ptolemy's Calatum as the Antonine figures will permit ; but it does not follow that we are bound to adopt that route for this *iter*. The same distances, and the whole along Roman roads, are obtained if the *iter* proceeds to Ribbleton, by Preston in Lancashire, for Bremetonacis; thence across the river Ribble, at Walton, to Wigan, for Coccium, and thence to Manchester for Mancunium.

It will raise some surprise, perhaps, that I should pass by Ribchester and its grand Roman remains to place Bremetonacis at or near Ribbleton. The reasons are several. From Ptolemy I have already identified Ribchester as Rigodunum. His figures in relation to that place shew that it was much inland from the mouth of the river, whilst the distance by the *iter* would carry it down nearly to the outlet ; and unless it did so, the next distance would not reach to the Roman town at Wigan. The ancient roads, as well as modern, often pass by and leave aside important places. Ribchester is a case in point both for ancient and modern roads. The Roman road is about three miles from it on one side, and the Railway at Ribchester Station is as far off on the other side. It seems clear then that Bremetonacis is several miles nearer to the sea than Ribchester ; but nothing exists on the spot to mark its exact position. Probably Bremetonacis was a Roman fort which had no long duration. Placed to control the Brigantian town of Rigodunum, its garrison came to occupy that town itself in later days : hence it is that an inscription preserved at Ribchester mentions the Sarmatian cavalry of Bremetenn. ; and three other inscriptions mention the Sarmatian cavalry, though they do not repeat the name, which seems to be Bremetonacis.

Turning from Preston to cross the Ribble at Walton the *iter* immediately passes that place, which bears marks of Roman antiquity, and, at the correct distance of twenty miles, reaches Coccium or Wigan, with its fine Roman station clearly retained. Thence to Manchester has the correct distance, seventeen miles.

From Manchester to Condate, the tenth *iter* coincides with the course of the second, arriving at Lostock Green.

To the final station of the tenth *iter*, Mediolanum, the distance is eighteen miles. That there were two places of the name, one to the east and the other on the Welsh side of Chester, is pretty clear, and if not hitherto demonstrated, yet often suspected. From Ptolemy, as before said, its position is most nearly marked by the relation its latitude and longitude bear to the estuary Seteia, bringing it towards or into Wales. This cannot be the position of the Antonine Mediolanum, because its distance from Condate will not even reach to Chester, and falls short on the east side of it. But no reason appears, if there be two places named Mediolanum, why the tenth *iter* should be supposed to pursue the same route as the second beyond Condate, merely to end two miles short of Chester. The distance from Condate in a south-easterly direction points out a position for Mediolanum of this *iter*, four miles north from Newcastle-under-Lyme, two miles within the Staffordshire border in the midst of the sources of the river Trent. More must be said of Mediolanum when we have to speak of the middle countries, to which portion of the subject its locality belongs.

Now to fill up the map from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the Gothic geographer of the *Ravennas*, and from inscriptions.

The list of the dignities of the time immediately after Arcadius and Honorius, has already been quoted, so far as it refers to the forces stationed in the southern and eastern counties. The rest of it, which is the chief part of the list, refers to the northern counties and their garrisons, of which thirty-seven are given, thus :

Sub Dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis BRITANNIARUM			
Præfectus LEGIONIS SEXTÆ.			
„	Equitum Dahmatarum	.	Præsidio
„	Equitum Crispianorum	.	Dano
„	Equitum Cataphractariorum	.	Morbio
„	Numeri Bracariorum Tigrisiensium	.	Arbeia
„	Numeri Nerviorum Dictiensium	.	Dicti
„	Numeri Vigilium	.	Concangio
„	Numeri Exploratorum	.	Lavatis
„	Numeri Directorum	.	Verteris
„	Numeri Defensorum	.	Braboniaco
„	Numeri Solensium	.	Maglove
„	Numeri Pacensium	.	Magis
„	Numeri Longovicariorum	.	Longovico
„	Numeri Derventionensis	.	Derventione

ITEM PER LINEAM VALLI.

Tribunus	Cohortis Quartæ Lergorum . . .	Segeduno
„	Cohortis Cornaviormi . . .	Ponte Ælii
Præfectus	Alæ Primæ Astorum . . .	Condereo
Tribunus	Cohortis Primæ Frixagorum . . .	Vindobala
Præfectus	Alæ Sabinianæ . . .	Hunno
„	Alæ Secundæ Astorum . . .	Cilurno
Tribunus	Cohortis Primæ Batavorum . . .	Procolitia
„	Cohortis Primæ Tungrorum . . .	Borcovico
„	Cohortis Quartæ Gallorum . . .	Vindolana
„	Cohortis Primæ Astorum . . .	Æsica
„	Cohortis Secundæ Dalmatarum . . .	Magnis
„	Cohortis Primæ Æliæ Dacorum . . .	Amboglanna
Præfectus	Alæ Petrianæ . . .	Petrianis
„	Numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum . . .	Aballaba
Tribunus	Cohortis Secundæ Lergorum . . .	Congavata
„	Cohortis Primæ Hispanorum . . .	Axeloduno
„	Cohortis Secundæ Thracum . . .	Gabrosenti
„	Cohortis Alæ Classicæ . . .	Tunnocelo
„	Cohortis Primæ Morinorum . . .	Glannibanta
„	Cohortis Tertiæ Nerviorum . . .	Alione
Cuneus	Armatnrarum . . .	Bremetenraco
Præfectus	Alæ Primæ Herculeæ . . .	Olenaco
Tribunus	Cohortis Sextæ Nerviorum . . .	Virosido.

About A.D. 410, when this list was compiled, only two Roman Legions remained in Britain. The Second Legion in the south at Richborough, and the Twentieth Legion, which heads the part of the list now under consideration. No position is named for it. The headquarters were certainly at York, but it was probably split up among many garrisons, for its inscriptions are found all over the northern counties, and beyond them.

After the legion three considerable bodies of cavalry are named, and are followed by ten troops of cavalry. The statement of the list is in every case that the commander of the force was at the place named. The force itself, in the case of the large bodies, was divided to garrison other places, as scattered inscriptions testify.

The three officers of the larger commands were widely separated. Præsidium, where the commander of the Dalmatian cavalry had his seat, was in Scotland. Besides the mention of the name here, the only other occurrence of it is in the list of the *Ravennas*, where it is named next but one after Corda of the Selgovæ, and in a line towards Rerigonium. Of the places where, according to Stuart's

Caledonia Romana, the remains testify a Roman station, that at Carstairs, with the neighbouring Castle Hill at Lanark, seems the most probable position. The occupation of this station at the time of the *Notitia* shews that even then, when the difficulties had been great in holding the country, the province of Valentia, north of the Wall, was not abandoned.

Danum, the second station, is fixed by the fifth and the eighth *iters* at Doncaster in South Yorkshire.

Morbum, the third great cavalry station, with Camden and many others, I conjecture should be placed at Moresby on the coast of Cumberland; yet no military inscription there refers to the cavalry of Catterick assigned to the station by the *Notitia*. The second cohort of the Lingones, and a seventh cohort of unknown origin, have inscriptions at Moresby.

The *Notitia* begins the small commands with that nearest to the place last named.

Arbeia is probably Ireby, about twenty-two miles from Moresby, and near to the Roman road from it to Carlisle.

Dictis seems to be between the last and the next, and would therefore be in a line towards Kendal.

Concangium. Reasons for identifying it with Kendal in Westmoreland have been given at the end of the discussion on Ptolemy.

The list goes on to Lavatris, which the fifth and second *iters* have fixed at Bowes in Yorkshire.

Verteris is fixed at Brough-under-Stanmore, in Westmoreland, by the same *iters*.

Braboniacum, probably Brovonacum of the second *iter*, is there fixed at Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland.

Maglove might be at Oldtown, discovered by Horsley near Catton in Allendale, as the list leads hitherwards, going in the next name to

Magis, *i.e.*, Magnis, now Carvoran on the Wall, mentioned as Magnis in the next part of the *Notitia*, and there more fully dealt with.

Longovicus, now Longtown, beyond the Wall, nine miles north of Carlisle.

Derventio. The list¹ here returns to the neighbourhood

¹ In Otto Seek's edition (Berlin, 1876), the *Notitia* list has this place thus: "Præfectus numeri superuenientium Petuercensium" (Prof. Rhys).

from which it commenced the single troops of horse, viz., to Papecastle at Cockermouth, about ten miles from Morbium, an undoubted Roman station, just below the junction of the Cocker with the Derwent.

ITEM PER LINEAM VALLI. It has long been suspected by antiquaries that the four last stations named in this second part of the list are not on the line of the Wall, notwithstanding the title. ALIONE I have already spoken of in order to separate it from Alone in the tenth *iter*, shewn to be in Lonsdale, near Ullathorns or Ellers. Alione, from the time of Camden, has had a claim to be identified with the fortress called Whitley Castle, in Cumberland, near Alston. The identification rests on the proposition that because an inscription at Whitley Castle shews the third cohort of the Nervii there in the time of Caracalla, therefore the place Alione where this cohort was after the time of Arcadius and Honorius is Whitley Castle. It is a great hiatus between the proposition and the conclusion; yet, until the cohort is traced to some other place, the conclusion is probable. This probability being accepted, Whitley Castle is found to be thirteen miles distant from the Roman Wall: hence the presumption that the three following stations were not *per lineam Valli*.

I must, however, ask my readers to look at the names immediately preceding Alione. In the tenth *iter*, Glannibanta I have shewn to be at Penrith, as far from the Wall as Alione. For a long while (there being no evidence on the subject), Tunnocelum was supposed to be at the west end of the Wall. Of late years, South Shields, opposite the east extremity, has been more favoured by conjecture. But why not, I ask, on the promontory whose point is at Ocelum or Ocellum? And if so, I submit Tunn-Ocelum is Patrington, a place not wanting in Roman remains. In the earlier part of the subject I have suggested that it was not reasonable to expect Roman remains at every place, many of the places being new to the Romans when Ptolemy's work and the *Antonine Itinerary* were compiled. At the period now reached, the last days of the Roman dominion here, when the stations had long been occupied, the case is reversed. Roman remains are almost necessary in evidence. The force whose commander was stationed at Patrington was the Ælian Marine Cohort; and what place

more fit for such a force and their squadron than this station with a haven just within the Humber?

The next preceding station, Gabrosentum, I cannot doubt was the Portuosus Sinus of the Gabrantuici, already placed, from Ptolemy, at Hornsea, and now found to be garrisoned by a cohort of Thracians, with the commander of the Ælian Marine Cohort close by, at Patrington.

Axelodunum, the next name above, is also that of a naval station, but on the opposite or western coast, viz. at Netherstall, near Maryport, at the mouth of the river Ellen, in Cumberland. It is a small Roman fort with Roman roads converging upon it, and with abundant Roman relics. Upon an altar is the name of the Cohors Prima Hispaniorum, which by the *Notitia* garrisoned Axelodunum. But the most remarkable inscriptions here are those which name Marcus Manius Agrippa, of whom it is known by an inscription found at Camerino in Italy, that he was præfect of the fleet at Axelodunum, as well as commander of the first Spanish cohort there.

Above the sentence which names Axelodunum I conceive there should be a break in the list, the places from Axelodunum downwards not being *per lineam Valli*, but yet regarded as outworks of the Wall, which prevented its being flanked from the sea or taken in the rear. As to the naval stations, Bede, when speaking of the construction of the Wall, says,¹ “Et in litore oceani ad meridiem, quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbarorum irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad perspectum maris collocant.”

We may now take Congavata as the place at the west end of the Wall itself, and observe how natural it was, in forming the list, that the first name, Axelodunum, away from the Wall, should be on the same coast as that where the list *per lineam Valli* ended with the name Congavata. Observe also the garrison at Congavata, the third cohort of the Lergians, and go at once to the top of the list, to Segedunum, the east commencement of the Wall, with a garrison of the first cohort of the same nation, the Lergians. This nation had, therefore, the privilege to guard the two extremities of the Wall.

Beginning now, as the list *per lineam Valli* begins, at

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 12.

Segedunum, it is certainly fair to argue that the first station named under the title is an extreme station of the line of forts. The progress is not made quite clear by existing evidences till the third station is reached, after which the evidence as to nine other successive stations is undeniable, and the progress established to be east to west.

As to the exact position of Segedunum, Dr. Bruce and others seem to have thought that because this line of argument makes it extremely probable that Segedunum was an extreme station, therefore it must have been that particular fort where the Wall actually began on the north side of the Tyne, known as Wallsend, and so well described by Dr. Bruce. There is no evidence to connect it with the garrison of the Lergians, yet no one doubts what the Wall itself shews, that it began here. But eastward of the Wall itself, where the width of the Tyne made a continuous wall needless, are two forts; the extreme one on the grandly lofty promontory where Tynemouth Abbey stands. Within Tynemouth Castle an altar, found in 1783, was inscribed with the name of the fourth cohort of the Lingones. It is supposed that in this inscription the word Lingonum may be interchanged with Lergorum of the *Notitia*, the word Lergorum being nowhere met with out of that list, and perhaps corruptly written,—since the Lingones are a known people of Gaul, whose inscriptions have been found elsewhere in Britain. But in fact the probability is great that the cohort which guarded the end of the Wall had the two outlying stations; and the recorded fact is that the one where the commander of the tribune of the cohort was placed was Segedunum; likely, therefore, to be Wallsend.

The next station, Pons Ælii, is now universally taken to be at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1771, when the remains of the mediæval bridge over the Tyne were taken down, it was found to be based on the masonry of a Roman bridge, in which coins of Hadrian were embedded. It is ages since any part of the Roman fortifications here have presented themselves above ground, though numerous memorials of their times have been continually disinterred. The argument is that Hadrian built the bridge in which his coins were embedded, and honoured it with the name

of his family, the Ælian. Newcastle is a Norman town, founded by the unfortunate Duke Robert, son of William the Conqueror. The ancient city, called Pamp-Eden, and now Pandon, was united with Newcastle by Edward I, and now forms the central portion of the town, with the Norman castle west of it.

For descriptive particulars of the next ten stations I must refer to Dr. Bruce's account of the Roman Wall, and to his *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. Eight of them are forts which form bastions or citadels in the Wall itself; two are as citadels or redoubts just within the Wall. All but two possess one or more inscriptions, by which the garrison is ascertained and found to coincide in the name and the order of succession of the *Notitia*.

Condercum, close to the modern village of Benwell, a western suburb of Newcastle. One inscription names its garrison of Spanish horse, called the Gordian, "Alæ Primæ Hispanorum Asturum".

Vindobala, at Rutchester, has no inscription, but coming in due order, and between two stations which have, its garrison may be taken from the *Notitia*, the first cohort of the Frixagi.

Hunnum is close by the Castle of Halton. Its garrison, Ala Sabiniana (the Sabinian regiment of horse), is mentioned on a stone found here by Camden. It guarded the Wall where the road of the first *iter* passes through.

Cilurnum, at Walwick-Chesters. The place is in itself a museum of Roman antiquities. The garrison to be looked for, according to the *Notitia*, is the second regiment of horse of the Astores. Accordingly an inscription records here the presence, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, grandson of Severus, "Alæ II Asturum"; and by other particulars the date A.D. 221 can be precisely adduced. This station guards where the North Tyne river crosses the Wall. The name, says Professor Rhys, ought to mean a cauldron.

Procolitia, at Carrawburgh. An altar found in 1838 bears the name of its Batavian garrison of foot, "Coh. I Batavorum".

Borcovicus, at Housesteads (a kind of literal translation of the other name, Prof. Rhys thinks), just where a still more ancient boundary, dyke, and road, the Black Dyke,

crosses the Wall. Gordon, who surveyed the station one hundred and eighty years ago, described it as unquestionably the most remarkable and magnificent station in the whole island. Its remains still bear the stamp of former magnificence. Numerous inscriptions record its garrison of foot, the first cohort of the Tungrians.

Vindolana, at Chesterholm, is two miles further on. It is one of the detached redoubts, and lies about six *stadia* within the Wall. Its garrison of foot, the fourth cohort of the Gauls, is named on several inscriptions.

Æsica, at Great Chesters. In 1761 an inscription was found here recording the presence of the second cohort of the Astures in the reign of Alexander Severus. The *Notitia* names the first cohort.

Magnis, at Carvoran, is the other detached station. It lies 250 yards within the Wall, where the Maiden Way passes through the barrier. No inscription recording its garrison has yet been found. The *Notitia* gives the second cohort of the Dalmatians. From this place the natural waters flow in opposite directions to the German Ocean and to the Irish Sea. It may be called the last station on the waters of the Tyne.

Amboglanna, at Birdoswald, on the Irthing, is the first station on the waters of the Eden, and is in Cumberland, the line having quitted Northumberland between this and the last station. The garrison named for it in the *Notitia* is the first cohort of the Dacians, surnamed the Ælian. Numerous inscriptions found here attest the presence of this cohort. This place is forty-eight to forty-nine miles from the commencement of the Wall at Wallsend. Ambogianna is the last station which affords evidence of its garrison by inscriptions in accord with the *Notitia*. The remaining length of the Wall westward is twenty-eight miles.

In this last portion the remains of the Wall are by no means so well preserved as in the first; and in parts it is totally obliterated, so much so that Mr. Thompson Watkin has surmised that it was neglected and abandoned, ungarrisoned, as far back as the time of the compilation of the *Notitia*. For more than thirteen miles no citadel-forts are traceable on the line of the Wall, and only two, known as Cambeck Fort and Watchcross, near and within

it. Whatever may have been the cause of the decay of the Wall, the paucity of the forts in number coincides with the paucity in number of the garrisons named for this part, for only three remain to be placed in twenty-eight miles.

The next station in the course is Petrianæ, recorded to have had for a garrison the regiment of the Petrianian horse. At the Cambeck Fort, near Walton, there was a garrison of the second cohort of the Tungrians, as shewn by one inscription found. It must have been before the era represented by the *Notitia*, as this cohort is not named in that record.

Watchcross, near Bleatarn, was described by Horsley as the smallest fort on the line of the Wall. He found it wholly plundered of its stones, and had doubts whether it could be thought a station on the Wall at all. Since Horsley's time the site (then an open common) had been under cultivation for seventy years, and Dr. Bruce, at his visit could discover no mark of Roman antiquity.

Stanwix, on the north side of the Eden, immediately opposite Carlisle, has the site of a Roman station or citadel upon the Wall. At Stanwix the Wall was crossed by the Roman road of the second *iter*. This *iter*, if we trace it backwards in this part, connected with the tenth *iter* at Glannibanta, Penrith; next coming to Voreda (Plumptre Castle at Old Penrith, where Camden shews by an inscription that the Ala Petriana abode some time); received soon after the junction of the fifth *iter*, and then arrived at Luguwallium, Carlisle, having followed the course of the river Peterill in all this distance. The Peterill river enters the Eden at Carlisle. Beyond Carlisle and Stanwix this important *iter* reached, we have seen, the Castra Exploratorum at Netherby and Blatum Bulgium at Middleby. It occurs to me that the Petrianian cavalry regiment drew its name from the region of the Peterill river, and had the patrol of this road; that therefore Stanwix, with others in charge of the regiment, are the stations called by the Roman name Petrianæ. At Stanwix the course of the Roman Wall arrives at the Eden. Whatever that name may mean, it is remarkable that it occurs at both of the great towns which stand respectively near the east and west extremities of the

Wall. At Carlisle it is applied to the river Eden ; at Newcastle it was applied to the Roman town in the form of Pamp-Eden, as already mentioned.

Aballaba. Passing Carlisle, the foundations of the Wall are traceable to a station upon it, at Burgh on the Sands, called the Old Castle, perceptible in Horsley's time. Inscriptions have been disinterred here, but not referring to a garrison. I would identify it with Aballaba of the *Notitia* : we must wait to find there the name of the garrison given, a troop of Moors styled Aurelian.

Congavata seems to have been one or both of the two final stations at Drumburgh and Bowness. Both of them are supposed to be forts upon the Wall ; the latter at its termination. But little, if any, evidence of the Wall now presents itself to the eye here in any part ; and none has been visible, within record, between Burgh and Drumburgh. Much of the space between these places is even now subject to overflow from the Solway Frith, and in Roman times must have been truly a part of the Frith. It is not unlikely that the Wall ended at Burgh. On the isthmus where Drumburgh and Bowness are, Camden understood foundations of the Wall to be visible. Some remains of a wall Dr. Bruce saw at certain times in the sea, near Bowness, though on a later visit they were gone. This isthmus was then Congavata, the west extremity *per lineam Valli*, and its forts were garrisoned by the second cohort of the Lergians, otherwise Lingones, whose fourth cohort held the forts at the east extremity.

The list goes on with the three naval stations : Axeldunum on the west coast, at Maryport ; Gabrosentum, and Tunnocelum, already identified as the two eastern naval stations at Hornsea and Patrington. South from the two last there was no naval station on the coast of Lincoln. Below Lincoln the coast-defence was taken up by the Count of the Saxon Shore, whose jurisdiction thus met that of the officer in charge of the Great Wall in the north.

From the naval stations the *Notitia* list returns to inland supporting stations,—Glannibanta, shewn in the tenth *iter* to have been Penrith ; Alione, already spoken of, and supposed to be at Whitley Castle, near Alston, on the little river Alne. The evidence is slight ; but as I cannot find that any other name has a claim to the posi-

tion, probability adds weight to the evidence. For Brementenracum much room for conjecture is left. It has been thought to be the same as Bremetonacis of the tenth *iter*. It is known by an inscription found at Rigodunum, Ribchester, to have had a force called the Sarmatian Cavalry of Brementenracum ("Bremetenn"); and it has been conjectured that the "Cuneus Armatorum" named in the *Notitia* for the garrison, is a corruption of the word "Sarmatarum". But the oldest conjecture, and which has held its ground the longest, places it at a small Roman camp a mile west from Brampton, and about two miles and a half within the Wall; just where the stations of that line of defence, west from Amboglanna, became few, and this close support might be valuable.

As to the position of the two remaining places no satisfactory clue has yet been discovered. As near supporting stations, probability points to Lanchester in Durham, to Old Carlisle, and Old Malbray in Cumberland. They may have been as far away from the Wall as its distant supporting stations in the eastern territory. Olenacum has been thought to be at Ellenborough, *i.e.*, at Maryport; but that now so clearly appears to be Axelodunum that Olenacum must find a site elsewhere; perhaps on the Lune in Lonsdale, where, at Borrow Bridge and Overborough, are remains waiting a Roman name. Virosidum then might be in Lancashire, on the river Wyre, guarding the Portus Setantiorum, and their bleak and somewhat desolate country.

The latest of the ancient lists of the British towns, that of the *Ravennas*, will now be briefly reviewed, so far as it relates to the northern counties. The writer of it, himself a Goth of the Gothic kingdom of Italy, whose capital was Ravenna, flourished, as Mr. Thomas Wright believed, in the seventh century.¹ Among the many "philosophers of the Goths", from whom he quotes, are Aithanarid and Edelwald, whose names seem to bespeak a directness of his information from England, which gives weight to it. "In Britain especially", says Mr. Wright, "where his list is remarkably full, he seems to have run his eye backwards and forwards [upon the maps] in so careless a way that he has in several instances repeated the name of the

¹ Publications of the British Archæological Association, Gloucester Volume, 1848, p. 27.

same place as though he had found it in different parts of the island." But notwithstanding this supposed confusion and much corruption in the transcription of the names recorded by those authors, Mr. Wright affirms, "we can have no doubt that such places did exist."

I venture to think the repetition of names was intentional. Now and then, where a name is repeated immediately in a slightly different form, the writer intended to admit his own inability to decide exactly on the form of the name. In other names which are repeated somewhat widely apart, he must be understood to be returning to a town from which he had before started, and from which he notes down a fresh line of places.

As in my southern chapter, I now, last of all, quote the *Ravennas*, marking in capitals the names of places hereinbefore identified. There is no break indicated in the list by the author until he comes to the towns on the Wall. Other interruptions that here follow are, therefore, only such as the course and the names suggest to my mind. The first place which the author names in the northern counties is Mantio, evidently Manucio, Mancunium, and Manchester. From it the list proceeds :

MANTIO, ALUNNA, to be found on the tenth *iter*, and placed on the Lune at Ellers or Ullathorns; then far away towards Slack and Almondbury, CAMULODANO; and back again to Calunio, otherwise Gallunio, which must be placed at Lancaster. From Ptolemy I have already marked that fine old town, undoubtedly Roman, for Vinnovium; in the Greek, "*Ouinnoouion*". The British name thus interpreted by Ptolemy and by his Latin editors was lost in a better interpretation of the British original, and does not occur in subsequent lists until it reappears in the modified form in the *Ravennas*. In this modified form it has been preserved in a remarkable manner, so that in *Domesday Book* Lancaster appears as Chercaloncastre; evidently handed down in the ages between the *Ravennas* and *Domesday* as Caer-calon-castra, abbreviated in mediæval and modern days to Loncaster and Lancaster. If the name appears in the list of thirty-three British cities preserved by Nennius in the year 858, it is there Caer-collon. Repeating the name Gallunio as a fresh starting place, the next towns, Modibogdo, Cantiumeti, and Juliocenor,

carry a line from sea to sea, across the country, to GABRO-CENTIO, or Hornsea. Thence the list begins a fresh excursion at ALAUNA, as I conjecture the same as Alione of the *Notitia*, on the little Alne, near Alston, *i.e.*, at Whitley Castle; then by Bribra and Maio to Olerica, possibly Olenacum of the *Notitia*, as the next place is DERVENTIO on the Cumberland Derwent at Papcastle; thence to Ravonia at Ravensglass, or close by at Moncaster, in the south extremity of Cumberland; and to Bresnetenati Veteranorum, at Stone Walls, by Broughton in Furness, to Pampocalia (perhaps the P written for C) at Ambleside, LAGENTIUM, another variation of Lagecium and Legeolium of the fifth and eighth *iters*; VALTERIS at Brough-under-Stanmore, on the second and fifth *iters*, called Verteris; then to BEREDA, the Voreda of the second *iter*, at Plumptre Castle near Old Penrith, and so to LUGUBALLUM at Carlisle.

After this long circuit another route across is taken from Carlisle upon the Wall to MAGNIS at Carvoran, and three or four miles back to BABOGLANDA, written for Amboglanna, at Birdoswald; VINDOLANDE, written for Vindolana, at Chesterholm; to Lineojugla, southward from the Wall, perhaps, at Muggleswick on the Derwent, above Ebchester, as the list is now going for VINONIA, *i.e.*, Vinovia, of the first *iter*, at Binchester; on to LAVATRIS of the second and fifth *iters*, at Bowes in Yorkshire, to CATARACTONION and EBURACUM, to DECUARIA (written probably for Petuaria of Ptolemy), placed by me about at Hedon in Holderness, on the mouth of the Humber; then back to DEVOVICIA, for Delgovitia of the first *iter*, at Market Weighton.

Another excursion now begins from DIXIO, the Dictis of the *Notitia*, suggested just now to be between Ireby and Kendal,—a suggestion strengthened by this list, for Kendal itself occurs almost directly. Lugundino might be in or near Langdale in Westmoreland, at the upper waters of the river Duddon of Windermere. COGANGES, at Kendal, is so written for Concangium of the *Notitia*, from which a long step is made to CORIA, to be taken for Curia, and placed from Ptolemy in the country of the Otadeni, *i.e.*, in Northumberland, between Haltwhistle and Wark. Lopocarium I must leave to the conjectures

of others. Here the list of the author breaks, and recommences with a descriptive sentence :

“Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia, quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia, id est de oceano in oceano, et Sistuntiaci dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britanniam, id est”

The unintelligible introduction, in this sentence, of the Sistuntiaci, not elsewhere heard of, is suggested by Gale to be an error for the Estuarium Ituna; but however these words are to be understood, the rest of the sentence clearly indicates what is to follow, and does follow, *i.e.*, a line of towns upon the Roman Wall, meeting those just previously mentioned, and then by a south-westerly course completing a line from sea to sea, ending on the coast of Cumberland. The list begins at the east end of the Wall, SERDUNO for Segedunum, on the Tyne at Wallsend; CONDERCO for Condercum at Benwell; VINDOVALA for Vindobala at Rutchester; OXNO for Hunnum, at Halton; CILUNNO for Cilurnum, at Walwick-Chesters; BROCOLITI for Procolitia, at Carrawburgh; Volurition, which must have been one of a little triangle of towns with Boreovicus and Vindolana (not noticed in this list, though close at hand); ÆSICA at Great Chesters. All these, except Volurition, are in the *Notitia, per lineam Valli*. Having here approached Magnis, to which a line from the west had already been traced, the list quits the Wall for BANNA, which I take to be Glanni-banta of the tenth *iter* and of the *Notitia*, at Penrith, and thence goes to UXELUDIANO or Axelodunum of the *Notitia*, at Maryport on the Ellen, where it enters the sea in Cumberland, near Ellenborough.

Notice should be taken here of that curious Roman relic, the cup found, in 1725, in a well at Rudge Farm in Wiltshire. It has upon it some names which occur at this part of the *Ravennas*, and one name in addition. The names round the cup are Banna, Maia, Aballava, Uxelodum, Camboglans.

A fresh line is then commenced from the Wall, and away into Scotland. AVALARIA, I think, is the same as Aballaba of the *Notitia*, and placed by me at Burgh-on-the-Sands; Maia, Fanocedi, Brocava (perhaps Brocavum of the fifth *iter*, and there marked near Haning Walls in Cumberland, though I advise to look in or towards Scotland as for another place here intended), Croucingo, Sto-

doion, Sinetriadum, CARBANTIUM, *i.e.*, Carbantorigum, of the Selgovæ, according to Ptolemy; and so clearly in Scotland, in two long circuits, the list continues in that country until it re-enters England by the way of Trimontium of the Selgovæ, mentioned by Ptolemy, written and proceeding TRIMUNTUM, Ebuoracastum, probably Bewcastle, a well known Roman station at the north end of Cumberland, once occupied by some part of the second legion; BREMENIUM, identified from Ptolemy, from the first *iter*, and from an inscription at High Rochester in Northumberland; Cocuneda, Alauna (probably on the east coast, at or near Alnwick), Oleioclavis, Ejudeusca, Rumabo. Here a break in the list, and another descriptive sentence takes the course again into Scotland, and names thirty-five of its towns; then, as if to pick up a few omissions,

“Sunt autem in ipsa Britannia diversa loca, id est”,

Maponi, Panovius, Minox, Taba, Manavi, SEGLOES”, probably Segelocis of the fifth and eighth *iters*, at Littleborough, south of York; DANNONI, otherwise Dano, of the same *iters*, at Doncaster.

Here the list of towns ends, and with it my attempt to map the northern counties in Roman times; not as if we had to teach Ptolemy and Antoninus and the Gothic “philosophers”, but remembering that we have to learn from them.



THE DISCOVERY OF A VIKING'S SHIP.

BY H. S. DESSEN, ESQ.

WITH NOTES BY E. P. L. BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at Devizes in August 1881.)

WE are assembled in a district remarkable for the vast number of its tumuli and other ancient burial-places still remaining. The open character of the country has helped, to a great degree, to preserve these remains, which elsewhere, in other counties, have so often been obliterated by works of agriculture. The Wiltshire barrows have been reckoned at 2,000, and this unusually large number testifies to the large population which must have existed in the district in remote times. When we consider that each barrow is often found to be the burying-place of a family of distinction, apart from the commonalty, the large number of the ancient inhabitants of Wiltshire is apparent to us.

Modern research has done much of late years to penetrate the mists of obscurity that have hidden our knowledge of the races who reared these barrows, and of their age. We are able now to point to the towns of the races on the hill-tops, which we recognise in so many of the irregularly planned and deeply moated camps, as a former generation of antiquaries called them; their actual habitations we recognise in the bell-shaped hollows either within the earthworks, or grouped by twos or threes on many a sloping hill-side. Their tribal lines of division stretch away for many a mile in some irregularly formed dyke or another; their places of worship are before us, in a marked degree, in this district of Avebury and Stonehenge. I am not a believer in the hypothesis that these two famous structures are of late date. The barrows around them, with their (in many cases) early contents, point to an early date for the temples. The vast numbers of barrows that stud the Plain testify to the sacred character of the spot, and to the wish in old days to be buried near a famous sanctuary. This feeling is recognisable among almost all

ages and peoples down to the time of our own "God's acres" spread out around the churches of our land. It points clearly, as I think, to the fact that the temples preceded the burials.

Of late years much has also been done to classify the contents of the barrows; but each separate discovery still needs to be carefully noted and recorded, while the peculiarities of race-burial have to be followed up. We shall be able to elucidate much that is at present obscure in the early history of our country when we have traced out and classified the peculiarities of each people's mode of interment, and can make comparisons with safety from one to the other.

In a district where the interments of the ancient peoples are so diverse, and all of varying times, I need no apology in bringing to your notice a remarkable discovery recently made in a foreign country, and all but unique of its kind. It relates to one of the formidable sea-kings who were once so terrible to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and one of a race whose bones may yet be found on our soil, having fallen before the English in battle, or died as settlers on the land they had wrested from their hands.

We are not likely to find many interments similar to this in England; but it may be noted how one discovery throws light upon another. This discovery may be compared with Governor Pownall's description of a so-called ship-temple at Dundalk in 1785, and the Rev. Mr. Ledwith's of another at Costello, co. Mayo.¹ The former consists of a tumulus with ruined walling badly mortared on its summit, the plan of which certainly resembles in form the outline of a ship with a pointed prow and a rounded stern; the latter has a pointed prow with a square stern. The walls in this case are not put together with mortar, and the chamber is enclosed by a flat stone top. There is nothing in the description of these remains, which have not received the attention they merit, to indicate their use as temples; nor can I learn that they have been opened to ascertain, as is most probably the case, that they are of sepulchral character.

Mr. Ledwith makes some references which throw light upon ship-burial. He reminds us that Antinous was

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. vii, 1787.

buried in a boat. "The hunter had his spear, his bow, and dogs, laid in the same tomb; heroes of land-troops had arms and horses buried; naval victors or heroes were buried in their ships, or were burnt with them, or finally had their tombs erected in the form of a ship." The classic references he gives need not be repeated here; but they indicate a custom more universal than we might at first be led to believe. He adds, "Icelanders were buried in a boat. Ashwand would not suffer his faithful servant to lie in the same skiff with him."

At length the nations erected royal tombs or tumuli of the size and figure of a great ship.¹ These tombs were afterwards temples where the people annually assembled to offer sacrifices for the prosperity of the nation.

My friend Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., has given me another reference to Saxo Grammaticus,² which is more to the subject. Frotho III, King of Denmark, made a law, to be observed throughout all the provinces he had conquered, that every head of a family should be buried with his horse and all his array; and a heavy punishment was inflicted for violation of a tomb: also that the body of a centurion or a noble should be buried on a funeral pile constructed of his own ship. Ten bodies of commanders of one ship were ordered to be buried together; and if any admiral or king were to die, he ordered him to be placed in his own ship, and buried together. So scrupulous was he in the observance of these funeral rites towards the dead, that he would not allow any foreign ceremonies. This indicates a much older custom which was beginning to be relaxed.

E. P. L. B.

From Snorre, Sturleson, and other Saga writers, we know that it was the custom amongst the ancient Norsemen to bury their chiefs with their arms and armour, often with their favourite horses, dogs, etc., and sometimes even with the ship on which such sea-kings, as they called themselves, set forth on their adventures. They usually selected some little field or plain for the burial-place, and

¹ *Steph. ad Saxo Grammaticus*, p. 91.

² *Hist. Danica*, lib. v.

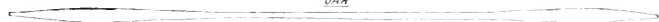
DISCOVERY OF THE VIKING'S SHIP.



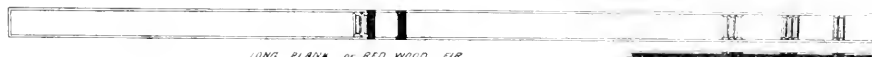
VIEW OF THE TUMULUS LOOKING FROM COGSTAD



OAR



SCALE

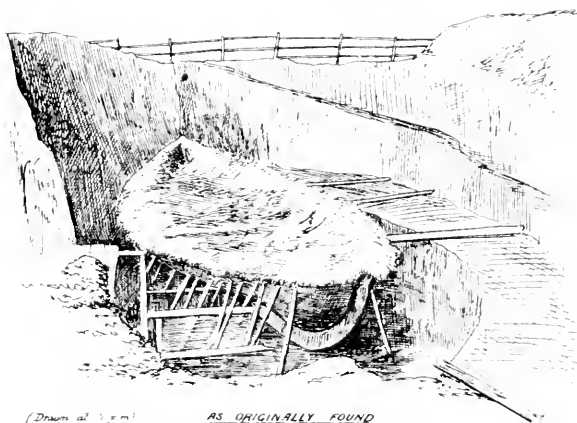


LONG PLANK OF RED WOOD FIR
(PROBABLY A LANDING PLANK)

BRIDGE

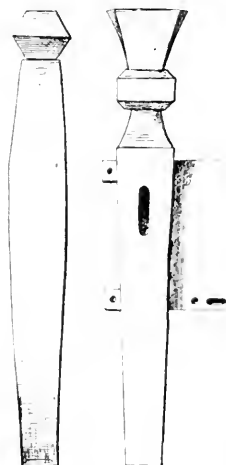


SPADE FOUND



(Drawn at 1/2 in)

AS ORIGINALLY FOUND
COVERED WITH BRANCHES OF TREES
TO PRESERVE IT WHEN FOUND



WOODEN ARTICLES

threw up the earth into a little hillock or mound ; and there are a good many of these in Norway, some even very large ; but strange to say, not a great many have been dug out. The natives call them "Hang"; not unfrequently "Kong's Hang", or "King's Hill", which seems to point to their being the sepulchre of some chief or king.

In 1852 the first vessel of this kind was found, whilst laying a road, in a mound in the parish of Borre, some thirty English miles north of the place where another has recently been discovered. In 1863 the Danish antiquary Engelhardt brought to light a comparatively well preserved vessel from the elder iron age, near Nydam, Schleswig. Finally, in 1867, a boat was found in Tune in Norway, which also belongs to the older iron age, and is now to be seen in a house built for that purpose, and attached to the University of Christiania. A couple of months ago, however, another ship has been added to the short list of these most interesting relics, and one which, from its size, well preserved condition, and complete outfit, furnishes us with the means of ascertaining the exact mode of burial of the Viking chiefs of the hardy Norsemen, who were such unwelcome guests at our shores a thousand years ago, and also enables us to form an accurate estimate of the equipment, manning, and construction, of their craft.

Close to the little town of Sandefjord, which of late years has become a favourite watering-place in Norway, lies a collection of houses bearing the name of Gogstad, and near by one of those "Hangs" was to be seen, and old people thereabouts could tell, in their mysterious sort of way, about a king being buried there, and that lights had sometimes been seen over it at night. Superstition, however, which would have that it was sacrilege to disturb the dead in their resting-place, has hitherto guarded it against any attempts to unclose its hidden treasures ; but considerations of that kind are no longer of any weight against the inquisitiveness of modern times. The two sailor-sons of a widow on whose ground the mound (about 170 feet in diameter) was situated, began to dig there in April last, and soon came upon some woodwork, when the experienced antiquary Mr. Nicolaysen of Christiania was called in, and the opening of the hill was proceeded with

under his directions. It was then found to contain a ship without any deck, built throughout of oak, 23 mètres long (75 feet), and 4.70 mètres broad (15 feet), placed on fagots of hazel, over which a large quantity of moss was strewn, while it was kept in its upright position partly by means of large stones, partly by horizontal wooden supporters. A couple of these supporters were the timbers that were first encountered. The place is about 5,000 feet from the nearest sea-shore; but it is evident, from the nature and appearance of the earth, that the sea has been much nearer; which view is also borne out by the fact that the two little peninsulas are called respectively East Island and West Island; and there is no doubt they, years ago, were wholly surrounded by water. The vessel was covered over with blue clay, which accounts for its excellent preservation, the stems only reaching up into the mixture of sand and clay higher up; and these are, therefore, totally gone, which was the case also with the boats found at Tune and Nydam. It is greatly to be regretted that it should be so, because the old Sagas so often refer to the dragon-heads raised high on the stem; and the Norsemen were fond of calling their ships dragons for that reason, as distinguished from trading ships; and it is supposed that these figure-heads were usually beautifully carved. Carving is, indeed, to this day a favourite and extensively practised occupation amongst the peasants in Norway.

In that end of the ship which was first opened to daylight was found a multitude of articles which can only be fully described and understood when they are properly arranged at the University of Christiania. There was a piece of timber lying across the vessel, which beyond doubt has been the anchor-stock, as there is a hole in the middle of it, where traces of iron were discovered; whereas of the anchor itself there is nothing left, save perhaps a little lump which was lying close by. In the bottom were the remnants of two or three small boats, exceedingly neatly built of oak; amongst them a rowlock of exactly the same style as are still in use in some districts. Underneath these was a quantity of oars; some large ones (about 20 feet long) for the ship, and a number of smaller ones for the boats. These oars are interesting on account

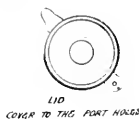
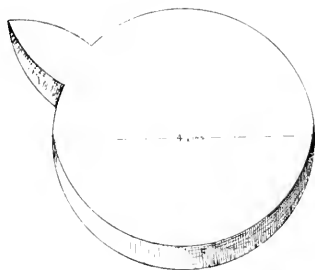
DISCOVERY OF THE VIKING'S SHIP.



VIEW OF THE TUMULUS



OLD KETTLE
COPPER ? FOUND IN THE BOAT

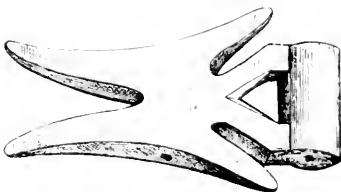


LID
COVER TO THE PORT HOLES

WOOD PIECES SUPPORTING THE RUDDER
(3 DIFFERENT POSITIONS)



SHIELD BASS

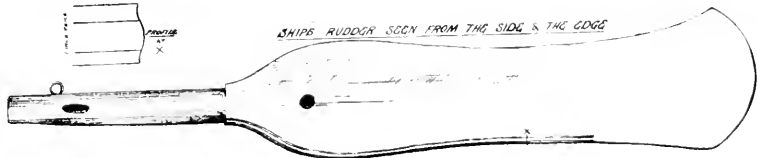


WOODEN ARTICLE

oar hole



SHIPS RUDDER SEEN FROM THE SIDE & THE EDGE



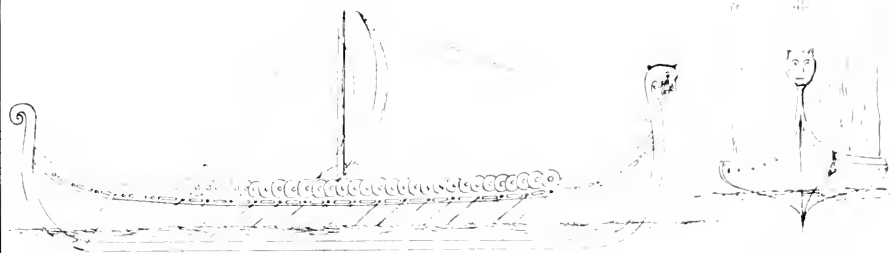
of their beautiful model and workmanship. They are thick just below the handle, to give a balance of weight inside the rowlock ; and are tapering towards the blade, which is small, prettily shaped, and ends in a point. There are beautifully worked lines, grooved and raised like a moulding, along the edge of the oars, as also on the rudder, the stem of the ship, and, in fact, in every place where it has been possible to employ them ; and they are so finely executed that it is hardly to be believed they have been done by the aid of a knife only, but suggest that these ancient shipwrights have had some sort of planes or similar tools. One of the oars was also adorned with some fine carving near the handle. In fact it is wonderful that there should be found such unmistakable signs of the sense and appreciation of that which is beautiful in models and ornaments, and the execution of which borders on art, amongst a race of men whom historians have tried to outdo each other in denouncing as the very type of rough and awful robbers, who cared for nothing but pillaging, hard drinking, and fighting. I regret that I have not here the opportunity of saying a few words in palliation of all the sins which have been ascribed to the old Vikings, but it would carry me beyond the subject-matter in hand.

The floorboards were all found in their proper places, resting on the timbers or ribs of the ship, and on the under side quite fresh, as if almost new, and on the top ornamented with carved circular lines. There were also found a couple of sledge-runners as well as some pieces of wood in the shape of bedstead-poles, with boards joined into a groove. The use of these has been much speculated upon ; but we may consider that they are part of a sort of partition on each side, longways, to divide the room of the rowing warriors from a space in the middle. Under the floor-boards was a quantity of oak chips, and amongst them a small axe only some few inches long, but of beautiful shape. In the same place were some boards with carved dragons' heads on the end. There are some larger and some smaller ; but it is uncertain where they may have been placed. They are finished on both sides, and painted with yellow and black, which seem to have been the two chief colours. The paint is evidently not

water, and could not be oil, as that was unknown in Norway at the time. It must have been ground in some grease, perhaps blubber; but that will be chemically analysed. The gunwale has probably been bent slightly inwards, and was found crushed down inside by the weight of the earth. Upon this were lying, at regular distances, round wooden shields painted with the two named colours; all of exactly the same size, and having an iron boss of the form peculiar in shape to the younger iron age. The shields rest on the outside of the gunwale, and not inside, as some newspapers have reported; just as it has been erroneously stated that the shields on the celebrated tapestry in Bayeux, in Normandy, were placed inside. The shields were overlapping each other, as shewn in the drawing; thirty-two on each side, just double the number of oars; but they could not have been used as means of defence, being made of very thin wood, and no other iron than the boss; and there were no signs of their being covered with skin or hide. Between the fourth and fifth timbers there was a wooden block in the bottom, with a hole wherein was standing a pole reaching about a foot above the gunwale, and having at the top a cross-tree a couple of feet in length. Just in front of the mast was a similar pole, and on the top of these two beams were running from one to another; and underneath were found the remains of frieze and ropes, which it is supposed have been used for the tenting on board. About midship was a very large oak block in the shape of a fish-tail, in which the mast was raised, and of which about 10 feet were standing. Round it were the rests of bars, ropes, and of a sail of frieze or some sort of canvas, of even and nice weaving, ornamented with painted colours, which is supposed to have been the buried chief's arms or crest, as was their custom. It is of this sail I have had the good fortune to obtain a part.

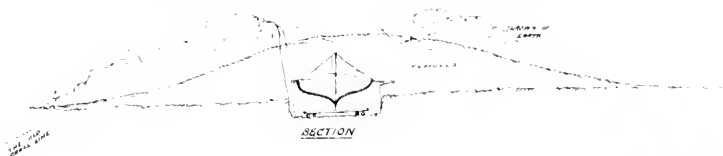
Immediately in front of the mast and the foremost wall of the burial chamber, which are close up against each other, were lying a quantity of staves from the large water bucket, which must have been quite cylindrical, also an enormous copper kettle capable of holding about sixteen gallons, and which had probably been used for cooking whilst lying at land, as there are no signs of

DISCOVERY OF THE VIKING'S SHIP.



RESTORATION

FRONT GULLARD



ROPE OF MAINMAST



BOLTS



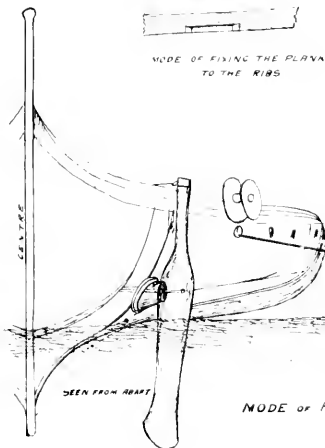
WOVEN FRAGMENT OF THE FLOOR
FOUND UNDER HIS RING ARMOUR
(PIECE OF HEMP OR SIMILAR VEGETABLE)



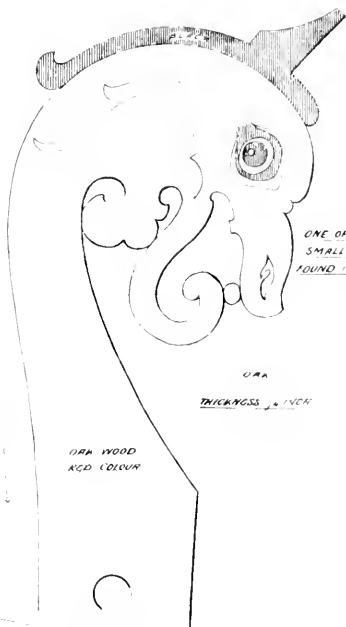
PART OF MAINMAST
MAIN BOSS 1/2" OF AN INCH THICK



MODE OF FIXING THE PLANKS
TO THE RIBS



MODE OF FIXING THE RUDDER.



ONE OF SEVERAL
SMALL HEADS
FOUND IN THE GALLEY

OAK
THICKNESS 1/2 INCH

OAK WOOD
RED COLOUR

any fireplace on board. This large kettle has, as far as can be seen, been hammered out of one piece of metal, which must have occupied very considerable time to do, and affords proof of the skill of their handicraftsmen. The kettle was a little crushed, otherwise well preserved, and with handles clinched on. Just behind the burial chamber were the remains of an iron kettle with handle attached, and a chain for hanging kettles on the fire. This is about 5 ft. long, of fine workmanship, and made of long twisted links. Under one of the floor boards in the after part were found some bones, possibly human, wrapped in bass and a stuff which would seem to be silk, of brilliant colours, brown and green. Outside, aft, was found the rudder lying in a slanting position, but when at sea it has probably been kept perpendicular. The shape and fixing of the rudder will be sufficiently well explained in the sketch thereof. Outside were also found the bones of two or three horses and one dog, as well as a portion of the skin of a horse, with hair of yellowish-brown colour.

The burial chamber was built just behind the mast, and was 15 ft. square. In the large oak block in which the mast was fixed (and which could be swung down) another hole was made, in which a thick beam was raised; and a similar one aft. These beams supported another which it was calculated would carry a great weight. From the top beam a number of planks were laid to the inside of the gunwale; on the starboard side were eighteen, but on the port side only four were left. The ends of the chamber were closed with perpendicular stout oak planks strengthened by cross beams. Both the roof as well as the walls were, outside, covered with bark of the birch tree; so it will be seen what an amount of care has been bestowed to preserve the sacred contents of this room. But all this care has, unfortunately, been wasted. In spite of the large dimensions of the top beam, it has not been strong enough to support the weight of the hill, the roof having been crushed in. But this was not the worst; it appeared that this was not the first time it had been opened since the devoted subjects had laid their beloved chief to rest with such great honours, but that it had been broken into by robbers who have actually cut

their way into the grave for the sake of the valuable arms and precious articles laid down there. The Sagas in some places tell of such thieves forcing their way into burial hills not long after the laying of them, and we have here a sad illustration of such a case. In the sacred abode of the dead, where the most valuable discoveries were expected to be made, everything was in disorder, and the great expectations sadly disappointed.

There were only found some bones and the skull of a man; some stuff with golden embroidery inside a scooped-out piece of wood; some leather; and metal articles of bronze, silver, and lead; parts of belts, a number of buttons, metal ornaments for saddle and bridle, etc. Some of the bronze buttons are of fine workmanship, representing a knight with a lowered lance (something like St. George), which would seem to hint that it belonged to the later feudal age, whereas the age of this burial can be given tolerably certainly as 1000 years ago, or about anno 800. A couple of large fishhooks were also found there adorned with silver. The wooden articles so lovelily carved probably belonged to the saddle. The ship is of oak, the planking clinched together with iron nails, and sewn on to the timbers with a kind of stuff, which may be roots or sinews, which has not yet been ascertained.

The length of keel of the Tune boat was 43 ft., the Nyaam boat 45 ft., while this one is 74 ft. in the keel and built on twenty timbers or ribs. It was placed with the stern towards the sea, so that when Odin called him out again, he could put right to sea with all the attributes of his power. The ship has now been taken to Christiania, whither it was towed by a lighter over the same waters as it had sped through at the hands of thirty-two warrior oarsmen 1000 years ago. What a wonderful thing! If the old Viking could rise and see the change, how he would be astonished to find no more the dense forests right down to the water's edge, where he was wont to meet the bear and the wolf, but where there are now cultivated and smiling creeks and busy towns; and, above all, what would he think of the steamboats, and the mass of brick buildings, with a cloud of smoke and many spires, which is the capital of Norway?

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1881.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Very Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, D.D., Dean of Worcester, *President*

Rev. W. J. Adams, D.C.L., 77 Birchington Road, Kilburn

Dr. W. T. Bensley, Diocesan Registry, Norwich

Edward Bush, Esq., Alveston, Bristol

John Bush, Esq., 9 Pembroke Road, Clifton

Arthur Cates, Esq., 7 Witehall Yard, London

Major Alexander Palma di Cesnola, Palma Villa, Woodchurch Road, N.W.

Ch. Chaffey, Esq., Stoke-under-Hambden, Ilminster

William V. Gough, Esq., Compton Lodge, Hampton Park, Redlands, Bristol

John Henry Grain, Esq., }
Mrs. Grain } Vernew House, Lewisham Hill, S.E.

T. Hayter Lewis, Esq., F.S.A., 12 Kensington Gardens Square

John Houldsworth, Esq., Kidderminster

Archibald S. Montgomery, Esq., Busch House, Isleworth, Middlesex

Benjamin Nathan, Esq., 6 Albert Square, Clapham Road, S.W.

Peter D. Pranker, Esq., The Knowle, Sneyd Park, Bristol

Miss Agnes Smith }
Miss Margaret Smith } 7 Stafford Terrace, Kensington

Rev. Charles Soames, Mildenhall Rectory, Marlborough

Ashby Sterry, Esq., 45 Albany Villas, Cliftonville, Brighton

Gilbert G. Walmsley, Esq.

Mrs. Williams, Yarth House, Greenhill Road, Hampstead

C. F. Wood, Esq., M.A., Redenham Park, Andover

The following appointments of Local Members of Council were announced :

Rev. C. Collier—for Hampshire

C. Lynam, Esq.,—for Staffordshire

J. Stevens, Esq., M.D.,—for Berkshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library of the Association :

To the Society, for “Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour les Années 1878 et 1879.” St. Pétersbourg, 1881. With the Atlas.

„ „ “Archæologia”, vol. xlvi, Part II; and List of Society of Antiquaries of London, June 1881.

„ „ “Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections”, vols. xviii-xxi; and “Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge”, 1881, vol. xxiii.

„ „ “Royal Institute of British Architects, Proceedings”, 1881, Nos. 1 to 3; “Transactions”, Session 1880-81.

To the Imperial University of Kazan, for “Journal”, vol. xlvii, 1880.

To the Society, for “Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire”, vol. xiv, Parts 2, 3; and two copies of General Index to vols. i-xiv.

„ „ “Archæologia Cambrensis, the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association”, 4th Series, Nos. 46, 47.

„ „ “Archæological Journal”, vol. xxxviii, Nos. 150, 151.

„ „ “Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland”, vol. v, 4th Series, Nos. 44, 45.

„ „ “Bulletin of the Essex Institute”, 1880, Nos. 1-12; “Historical Collections”, vol. xvii, Parts 1-4, 1880, “Visitors’ Guide to Salem”, 1880.

„ „ “Séances Générales tenues à Arras et Tournai en 1880 par la Société Française d’Archéologie”. Paris, 1881.

To J. Evans, Esq., F.R.S., for a Paper entitled “A Few Words on Tertiary Man”, printed by the Hertfordshire Natural History Society, 1881.

To Rev. Samuel Bentley, M.A., Vicar of Bosbury, the Author, for “A Short Account of the Church, Episcopal Manor, and other Objects of Interest in Bosbury, Herefordshire.” 1881.

To Henry Phillips, Jun., the Author, for a Paper entitled “A Glimpse into the Past.” 1881.

To T. Kerslake, Esq., the Author, for a Paper entitled “Caer Pensavel-coit.” 1881.

To C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., the Author, for a Paper entitled “Discoveries of Roman Coins in Gaul and Britain.” 1881.

To the Author for “Thoughts on the Source of Life.” 12mo. London.

To M. Charles Roessler, the Author, for “Antiquités de Lillebonne.” 8vo.

To William Miller, Esq., for “London before the Fire of 1666; with an

Historical Account of the Parish, the Ward, and the Church, of St. Giles Without Cripplegate." By William Miller of H.M. India Office. London, 1867. 8vo.

To Sig. Antonio della Rovere, of Venice, the Author, for "San Marco", a Monograph upon St. Mark's, Venice.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the progress of excavations now being made at Wingham, Kent, the site of an extensive Roman villa which contains numerous tessellated pavements and several details of unusual importance, some account of which will be laid before a future meeting. Mr. Brock also reported the steps which had been taken with a view to the protection of Stonehenge from possible injury or dilapidation, under the auspices of Sir Edward Antrobus, Bart., and read correspondence with the latter on the subject.

Mr. R. Soames sent for exhibition a rubbing of a stone rudely sculptured in form of a bird rising with expanded wings, by some conjectured to be a Roman eagle, found in the Saxon church of Brixworth; said to be from a Roman villa which is situate to the north of the church, but it is more probably a mediæval work.

Mr. Brock drew the attention of the meeting to the existence of the Roman road for a considerable distance along the Edgware Road, leading in the direction of St. Alban's, as revealed from time to time on the occasions of excavating the road for sewerage and drainage works. This road has been the subject of remarks on more than one evening by the late Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A. It has been again recently met with.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a large brass coin of Justinus, A.D. 537, in poor condition, found recently during an excavation on the site of the King's Head Yard, High Street, Southwark; also, from the same site, a thrift-box of grey ware, and a brown ware jug of the sixteenth century. Mr. Way also exhibited wooden tinder-boxes with flint and steel, from Rackenford, North Devon.

Rev. S. Maude, M.A., exhibited a rare and probably unique silver coin of Gallienus, unpublished. Further notes on this coin were promised by the exhibitor.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited several drawings of the remains of Mulgrave Castle, near Whitby, with regard to a peculiar, and it was thought unusual, arrangement of two false windows on the ground floor, behind a fireplace in the interior.

Professor T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., read a paper on the Boorg Ez-ziffir, a corner tower in the ancient walls of Cairo. The paper, which attracted considerable interest, was illustrated with a coloured plan and several diagrams of comparative architecture. It will be printed hereafter. In the discussion which took place, Mr. J. W. Grover, Mr. Hills, Mr. Blashill, and Mr. Brock, took part.

Mr. G. M. Hills read a continuation of his paper on "The Measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary", and exhibited a map of the northern counties in illustration of his remarks. This will be found printed above, at pp. 360-415. The paper was listened to with marked attention, and in the discussion which followed Mr. Grover and Mr. Birch took part.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 7, 1881.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :

Fred. J. Methold, Esq., 15 St. James's Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

Edmond W. Oliver, Esq., 11 Kensington Square, W.

Fredk. R. Surtees, Esq., Boxley Abbey, Sandling, near Maidstone

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents :

To Professor Cyrus Thomas, the Author, for "An Attempt to reconcile the Differences in Reference to the Maya Calendar", etc. 8vo.

To N. Trübner, the publisher, for "The American, European, and Oriental Record", New Series, vol. ii. 8vo.

To Henry Phillips, Jun., the Author, for "Head-Dresses exhibited on Ancient Coins." Philadelphia. Privately printed. 1881. 4to.

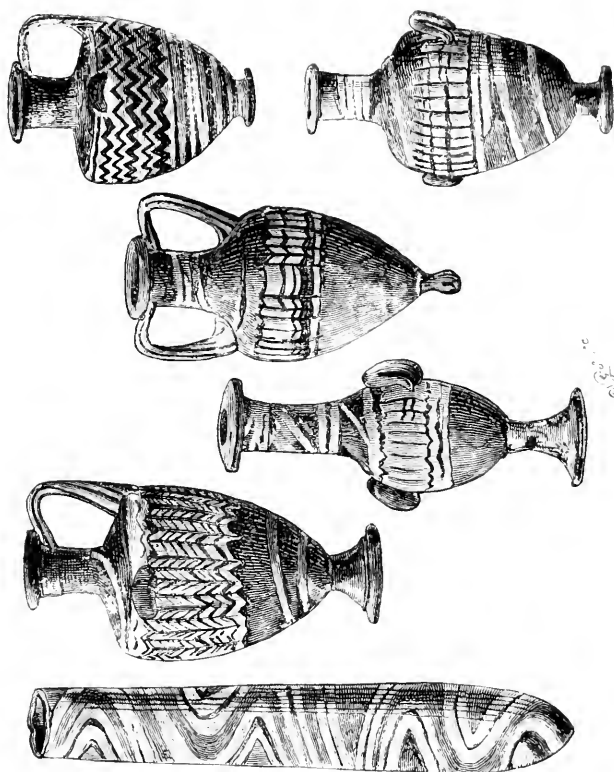
To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects." 1881. No. 4. 4to.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave an account of the church of Gosforth, near Bishop Auckland, newly discovered by Dr. Hooppell. A paper by Dr. Hooppell is promised for a future occasion. It is a small ruined building, probably of Saxon date.

Mr. W. G. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze figure of an Egyptian priest seated, reading. It was believed to have come from Deir-el-Balri, the site of the lately made important discoveries ; a bell with four small feet and a square base, several keys of Roman forms, hair-pin with caduceus ornament, Bohemian fibulæ, Hungarian celts, bronze ; Irish celt, broken, bronze ; and several flint implements of fine form, and in perfect preservation.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen exhibited two carefully prepared drawings of the ironwork found on two doors, and a photograph and two drawings of the doors of Edstaston Church, Salop. A paper on these is promised for a future evening.

Major Alexander Palma di Cesnola exhibited a large collection of Phœnician glass vessels of beautiful forms and colours, from various tombs excavated by him in Cyprus, chiefly at Salaminia, a few years



1. Alabastron. 2. Hydria. 3. Diota. 4. Amphora. 5. Hydria.
6. Diota.

ANCIENT GLASS FOUND AT SALAMINIA IN CYPRUS.

One-half actual size.

ago; also a miscellaneous collection of gold rings, earrings, scarabs, gold and silver coins, beads, twists of gold for fibulae, inscribed with Cypriote characters, film of gold earrings, and pendants.

Messrs. Cope, Myers, Wright, and the Rev. A. Taylor, testified to the extreme rarity of this exhibition.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited two small fragments of Samian ware from the Roman station about four miles from Homburg. These resembled the English finds of Samian pottery. One piece was a stamp which appears to read LASS . OF

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., read a paper on the recent excavations on the site of Carrow Priory, near Norwich, a work which has been carried on by Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., for a considerable time at a great outlay. Plans and a series of photographs in illustration of the paper were shewn, and great interest was evinced by the meeting at the successful result of Mr. Colman's undertaking. This will appear hereafter.

Mr. A. G. King, who had superintended the works of excavation, gave some further particulars.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the following

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS AT GREAT MALVERN.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

From the Imperial Hotel, where we assembled on the 22nd of August, the town of Great Malvern is seen scattered along the lower slopes of the Worcestershire Beacon, one of the towering points of the range of hills which divide the valleys of the Severn and the Wye. The Priory Church stands out against the foliage which surrounds the residences of the inhabitants, and a white church steeple at the northern end of the town serves as a landmark against which the ever changing light is reflected as the clouds are drifted by the winds now southwards towards Gloucester, now northwards to Worcester. Here, if anywhere, might Jupiter be described by one of the roundest epithets applied to him by Homer, that of the cloud-driver; and among the clouds on the hill-top was Robert Longland, as is reported, inspired with his vision of *Piers Plowman*, with the Lady Mead for a heroine, and that worthy triad, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best. But as this poem was written in the year 1393 or 1394, some may prefer to study the more modern poetry of Joseph Cottle¹ and R. Booker, descriptive of the charming scenes visited during the Malvern Congress.

I propose, before referring to mediæval antiquities, to say something of the ROMAN REMAINS which came under discussion, especially on the day when we scaled the heights of the Herefordshire Beacon; and though this was visited on the last official day of the Congress, I will

¹ "Bæotian Cottle, rich Bristowa's boast."

Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

take it first because it has not unreasonably been considered the abode and place of refuge of many early British inhabitants of this island. As it is one of the highest points in the range of the Malvern Hills, and commanded the only road in this latitude by which the passage into Wales could be made, so it was such an eminence as the native Britons would secure; and an interesting discussion arose as to whether this was the spot where Caractacus made his last stand against the Romans on the occasion of his defeat and ultimate capture, or whether he was not here at all. Mr. J. T. Burgess, F.S.A., gave an account of the nature of the country, illustrated by the plans of Mr. H. H. Lines of Worcester; and Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., of the line of fortified hills along the Upper Avon from the Nen to the Severn at Tewkesbury.

Upon very slender authority it has been said that the Pro-Prætor Ostorius Scapula, in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 47, "proceeded to disarm the suspected tribes, and take steps for fencing in the Nen and Severn rivers by a chain of fortified camps";¹ but according to the most intelligible reading of Tacitus his words are only "detrahære arma suspectis, cinctosque castris Autonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat";² which only means that he made preparations for disarming the suspected, and for keeping in check the Avon and Severn rivers, girt about with camps. These were camps of the native inhabitants, who made their residences within them, and protected their cattle in enclosures within the defences. As long as the tribes were peaceably disposed towards the Romans, it is probable they were not molested in their hill-fastnesses; but on assuming a hostile attitude they would pour down the rivers to harass the Roman stations, which at this early period were in the valleys along the line of the military roads; the roadster of Antoninus, therefore, must betaken as a good commentary on the meagre accounts of Dion and Tacitus as to these early campaigns.

The text of Tacitus goes on to say that "the Ikeni were the first to resist the measures above referred to, and at their instigation the neighbouring nations selected a spot on which to give fight". Again, at sec. 32, "Those who were hesitating between peace and war gave in after the slaughter of the Ikeni, and the Roman army was led away to the territory of the Cangî." The Romans in marching from the Ikeni to the Bristol Channel would naturally follow their military road to Gloucester, and avoid the forts of the Avon and Severn, which were occupied by the native tribes. These hill-settlers were conquered by the moral influence of Rome, backed up by her military force, but the Romans did not waste their energies by besieging in detail the high and strong positions of an enemy who had to guard his own against the neighbouring tribes as

¹ *Arch. Journal, Instit.*, xxxv, p. 339.

² *Ann.*, xii, 31.

much as against the foreigner, and who probably feared the latter less than he did his own neighbours. They were now not far from the sea which looks out towards Ireland, when disturbances among the Brigantes drew off the General thither, who had settled his plan of not attempting new conquests till the old had been secured. The Brigantes, after losing a few men, surrendered, and were pardoned. The race of the Silures (South Wales) could neither be deterred by severity nor by conciliation from making war upon and pressing the camps of the legions. The sooner to get to them, therefore, a colony composed of a strong band of veterans was planted at Camulodunum on the enemies' land, a safeguard against rebellion, and a means of accustoming allies to respect the laws. From thence a march is made into the country of the Silures, a nation bold, not only through their native ferocity, but confident in the leadership of Caractacus, whom many circumstances had contributed to raise over the other British chiefs."

It is probable that the Dobuni in Gloucestershire, who had allied themselves with the Romans against their neighbours the Cateuchani, were now resisting the Roman measures for keeping in check the rivers referred to, and the Romans could hardly do this effectually without moving up in force to Tewkesbury, where the two rivers unite, or they may even have pushed a detachment on as far as Upton-on-Severn, though they would hardly venture at this time very far from their base of operations at Gloucester, and the fortresses along their military way. This way extended eastward to Silchester, and north-westward by the road proceeding to Ariconium near Ross, to the great camp at Kenchester, and thence northward to Wroxeter and Chester.

Caractacus had drawn the Romans into the territory of the Ordovices in North Wales, and there selected a spot where circumstances would all be against the Romans; the spot was a lofty mountain, surrounded by a parapet or rampart of stones, and water flowing at the foot. The result is well known—when the wife, sons, and daughter of Caractacus were made prisoners, though he himself delayed his capture a short time—but where did this happen? Was it at the Gaer near Corwen in North Wales, visited by the Association at the Llangollen Congress, which answers to the account of Tacitus, or at one of the many other places which are thought to correspond with the description, as Coxall Knoll, on the Teme, near Leintwardine; Cefn Carnedd, near Llanidloes; Caer Caradoc, on the Clun; and the Breidden Hills, near Welshpool on the Severn? As we cannot hope to settle the spot further conjecture is useless. The Barberini inscription at Rome, dedicated by Claudius, A.D. 51, to commemorate the subjection of the Britons, is an equally enduring monument to the memory of

our British chieftain, and, in connection with the coins, fixes the date of his defeat. Who will not prefer the pure air of the Welsh mountains, and the rough manners of its native tribes, to the back-stairs of the palace of Claudius, and the murderous intrigues of a Messalina and an Agrippina?

The province of Britannia Prima was now Roman, and a few years more added the territories of the Silures and Ordovices or the whole of Wales to Roman Britain under the name of Britannia Secunda. The twentieth legion, the *Valeriana Victrix*, quartered there—after at Chester, was thus well placed for restraining the Ordovices, as well as extending Roman dominion over the Flavian province, which was afterwards done.

In the Museum at Worcester we saw the Roman stone with the inscription—

VAL C^ONST
ANTINO
P F IN
VICTO AVG

said to have been found at Parsonage Farm, Kempsey, about three miles south of Worcester, a place of importance in the reigns of Henry II and Henry III.

In the same Museum is preserved a fragment of Mosaic pavement found at Bays' Meadow, near Droitwich, on 3rd April 1847. It is of geometrical pattern of inch tessaræ, in about three colours; the lines form a diamond overlapping a square. In the centre is a guilloche knot in a circle.

There are traces of a Roman way at intervals between Gloucester, Upton-on-Severn, Worcester, Droitwich, and Kidderminster, and such a road would be a necessity when the country was subdued and flourishing towns sprang up in the vicinity of the places mentioned: but no roads of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus passed through this county.

On the road to Droitwich we visited a mound of some 250 ft. high, called Crugbury, or Cruckbury, measuring 1,530 ft. round the base, and 540 at the summit, a natural hill of marl; the escarped sides give it an artificial appearance. The Roman or Romano-British remains were exhibited which had been found on Midsummer Hill, and the road into Wales, which runs at the foot of the Herefordshire Beacon, must have been used by the Romans when the country had been subdued, and the native inhabitants were peaceably occupying the huts, of which traces are thought to remain, on the heights of this formidable hill-fort.¹ We passed along this road to visit those four interesting records of the continuity of our history.

¹ See an article by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price on "The Passes of the Malvern Hills" in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, February 1881.

EARLY CHURCHES IN HEREFORDSHIRE.—LEDBURY, BOSBURY, MUCH-MARCLE, and KEMPLEY churches, exhibit symptoms of very early masonry; and it is very instructive to examine the alterations and additions which have been made from time to time. *Ledbury* is one of unusual dimensions for a parish church, and probably served as a model for the churches in the neighbourhood; the length of the nave is 97 ft., and the choir 90 ft. *Bosbury* was of unusual interest as to its history, which was fully entered into by the Rev. Samuel Bentley,¹ who referred the name to one Bosa, a king's scribe of the ninth century, and said this was one of the oldest manors of the Bishops of Hereford, who had formerly a palace here, the remains of which are still to be seen. A square detached tower, which stands sixty yards south of the church, recalls the time when what are now belfries served as works of defence; six other detached towers of the churches in Herefordshire were referred to, and they failed not to recall the similar towers we had seen at the Wisbech and Yarmouth Congresses on the eastern coast. *Kempley* is a church of early and singular construction, consisting of a chancel formed by a barrel vault, covered with paintings in good preservation, discovered in 1871. The character of these paintings is compared to one in the Benedictinal of S. Æthelwold, by a writer who has described them in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvj, p. 187, *et seq.* The colour of the ground is not unlike that in the paintings at Pompeii, and the circular roof resembles in a manner that of the baths there; at all events, these paintings are a good example of art in Britain at the period from whence they date. The nave is also painted, but the work is not in such good preservation as that in the chancel.

THE CHURCHES IN WORCESTERSHIRE.—Those visited by us were Ripple, Bredon, Overbury, Ribbesford, Bewdley, and Arley-King's, containing beautiful traces of the successive styles of the builders since Roman times. At Kidderminster Church the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century is the exception to the prevailing earlier remains in the other churches visited; and the grand old Norman piers and arches, of unusually lofty and bold proportions, which characterise the churches of the Benedictine Monasteries of Worcester, Tewkesbury, and Great Malvern, must have created a deep impression upon all who visited them, and heard the descriptions of their architecture and history by our President the Dean, by the Rev. Hemming Robeson, and by Mr. W. J. Hopkins, with the running commentary of Mr. Brock. Nor should the account of the church of Little Malvern by Mr. Daniel Parsons be passed over, this having been a cell of the Worcester Benedictines. The remark of Mr. W. Hopkins in Great Malvern Church, that so many towers fell down about the same time, reminds me also

¹ His work on the church and parish, just published, is well worth perusal.

of the many fires which occurred in churches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; and I think this was an easy way by which writers appropriated buildings of ancient work to those patrons who merely restored them, and wished to obtain credit for building the whole edifice when they may have done no more than alter it. Instances of such discrepancies, on investigation, have been pointed out in the case of Pershore Church, to which attention will, perhaps, be hereafter directed. Mr. Brock's observations about the rededication of churches by special order from the Papal Legate in the thirteenth century, bear upon this subject.

Some of the contents of the churches visited call up special references to history which deserve record, as the fonts. At Bosbury was one of square shape, the bowl hollowed out, and the block supported on five columns. The font was of the dark igneous stone of the neighbourhood. In the same church is an older font of circular form, resembling a pail, with a hoop round the centre cut in stone ; perhaps in imitation of the Saxon pails of wood so often found. This has been considered of perhaps as early a date as the eighth century. At Overbury is a font consisting of a cylindrical bowl rudely carved with the figure of a bishop, the design shewing features of Danish workmanship, which was noticed by the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram. The celebrated font at Winchester has also been considered to exhibit traces of the style of that nation. A plain circular Norman font was seen at Birt's Morton. The designs and emblems on these early fonts are most interesting and suggestive, and no pains should be spared to arrive at the proper interpretation of them, for much remains to be desired in this respect. The same remark applies to the carving on early tympana over the portals and on capitals of columns. A curious instance of these was the portal of the church of Ribbesford, where the emblems of a beaver and a hind raised an animated discussion, though without quite solving the question of their meaning.

If the architecture of the churches visited during this Congress is principally illustrative of the early times of the Church and of the transitions from Saxon to Norman, and thence to the more refined style of the Early English period, yet the furnishing of the buildings with the memorials of the dead whose remains found rest in the churches of their homes and parishes is strongly represented in the sculptured slabs of the thirteenth, and altar-tombs, memorial brasses, and chantry chapels of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries ; which induces me to say a few words upon

TOMB-SLABS, EFFIGIES, AND BRASSES.—Of the earlier tomb-slabs and effigies some interesting specimens were seen without names or means of identifying them, if we except that of King John and others of the thirteenth century named by Mr. Planché and Mr. Bloxam, and a slab

in Great Malvern Church, now deposited in a corner, which bears the date 1135,—

“Hic jacet in cista, Geometricus et Abacista,
Doctor Walcherus ; flet plebs, dolet undique clerus.”

I will first, however, refer to a recumbent figure of a knight on the north side of chancel in the Priory Church of Great Malvern, about the same period as that of William Longuespée in Salisbury Cathedral. In Bishop's Cleeve Church was a warrior in chain-mail and surcoat, bearing kite-shield and broadsword, from 1265-1270. In Much Marele Church we saw a recumbent effigy in civil costume, which, as only three others are known to exist of a date prior to the seventeenth century, in this country, I will describe in Mr. Bloxam's own words when mentioning this fact. He says it is “a wooden effigy placed on a window-sill in the south aisle, and not in its original position. It is attired in a close-fitting tunic or *côte* hardly reaching to the knees, with close-fitting sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists. Round the loins is a plain girdle buckled in front. To this girdle a small *gip-cièrre* or purse is attached. The *caputium* or hood is worn about the neck, but is not drawn over the head. The legs are crossed, the right leg over the left ; the shoes are pointed ; the feet rest against a lion ; the head reposes on a square cushion. This effigy is 6 ft. 4 ins. in length from the crown of the head to the points of the feet. It is evidently of the fourteenth century, to the middle of which period, *circa* 1350, I would assign it.”¹

In St. Catherine's Chapel, Ledbury, is an effigy of a priest, of the thirteenth century, in the vestment of the period. Here are also two floriated stone coffins. Of the early part of the fifteenth century is a well wrought brass in Kidderminster Church, to Maude St. Pierre, died 1415, and her successive husbands ; Sir Walter Cooksey, died 1410 ; and Sir John Phelip, died 1415, in plate-armour and collar of SS. Near to the brass on the floor is a monument in a recess in north wall of chancel, of a knight and his wife, similarly attired, and supposed to be the same lady and her second husband. The armour, however, seems to be sixty or seventy years later, being that of the time when the monument was erected rather than a strict copy of the armour worn by the deceased.

The tombs and effigies in Worcester Cathedral were fully described in a paper read at the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Worcester in July 1862, by Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, F.S.A., and of which a reprint was kindly furnished to our party in the Cathedral. As to the tomb of King John, the first English monarch since the Conquest whose effigy is in England, this is placed on an altar-tomb now

¹ Matthew H. Bloxam in *Arch. Journ. Instit.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 235.

standing in the centre of the choir. "Leland calls it a 'high tomb'; and the effigy was the cover of the stone coffin in which the remains of King John were originally deposited in the Chapel of the Virgin at the east end of the Cathedral. The altar-tomb is of a much later period, probably constructed early in the sixteenth century, when the tomb of Prince Arthur was erected. The body must then have been disclosed, and the crown and sceptre, if any existed (probably of base metal, as were those found in the tomb of Edward I), may have been removed."

"In May 1856 two stone coffins were discovered during repairs of the Cathedral, which, with their contents (a skeleton in each), were carefully removed and placed in the north-west corner of the crypt, and there they now remain. The most important discovery, however, was in December 1861, when a stone coffin was discovered containing the remains of a bishop in his episcopal vestments. These were exceedingly rich, being of gold tissue decorated with scrolls and other ornaments, such as figures of kings and birds in that particularly conventional style which prevailed during the thirteenth century. Neither the episcopal ring nor the chalice, both of which it was customary to bury with the corpse of a bishop, could be found; but a silver-gilt paten in perfect preservation, measuring about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, was found in the coffin. The remains may be compared with those of Henry of Worcester, Abbot of Evesham, who died in 1263, and whose grave was there found in 1821, on the site of the nave of the Abbey Church." Mr. Bloxam attributes the remains to Walter de Cantilupe, who presided over the see from 1236 to 1266, and he quotes *Chronicon Wigorniese*, ad annum 1308; Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 406; and Cotton MS. Calig. A X.

"The Cathedral contains effigies of six bishops anterior to the Reformation, and of three bishops of the Reformed Church, besides the monumental statue of Bishop Hough by the celebrated Ronbilliac; also those of a prior and an abbot anterior to the Reformation, and of a dean subsequent to that period. There are a few effigies in armour, and several of ladies, designed with great taste." As the greater part of the effigies have been removed from their original position, Mr. Bloxam refers to the difficulties he has had in correcting erroneous opinions concerning them which have hitherto prevailed.

The earliest effigies of bishops are two of the three now placed in the Lady Chapel, near the east end. The one northward Mr. Bloxam ascribes to Bishop William de Blois, who died in 1236; that southward to Bishop Walter de Cantilupe, who died in 1265-6. "This is sculptured in bold relief on a coffin-shaped slab, wider at the head than at the feet, out of a block of Purbeck or dark coloured marble. It represents the Bishop wearing moustaches and a curly beard, with a low-

pointed mitre, on either side of which is sculptured Early English foliage. The right hand is upheld, with the fore-fingers raised in benediction; the left grasps the pastoral staff, the crook of which is gone. The skirt of the alb is seen over the feet; the *parure*, or apparel, appears to have been ornamented with imitative precious stones or glass; the extremities of the stole are visible over the alb; over this appears the dalmatic, and over that the chasuble, the folds of which are very numerous. In front of the chasuble, on the breast, is a quatre-foiled ornament, the *pectorale* or *rationale*. The neck is bare, but the amice appears like a stiff collar. The maniple is represented as hanging over the left arm, and is fringed. It appears, from certain cavities, to have been ornamented with glass or imitative jewels. I believe this effigy to have originally formed the lid of the coffin, and to have been prepared in the lifetime of Bishop Cantilupe. Great care has been taken in the execution, and as a specimen of sculpture of the middle of the thirteenth century, it has considerable merit.

"The monument and sepulchral chapel of Arthur Prince of Wales, eldest son of Henry VII, stands on the south side of the choir; and to the south of this is seen the fine monument of a bishop, which, perhaps, may be ascribed to Godfrey Giffard, who died in 1301. The two episcopal effigies beneath pedimental canopies, in or adjoining to the south wall of the north-east transept, appear to be of the fourteenth century; and those on the floor at the east end of the Lady Chapel, between two earlier effigies already noticed, may be ascribed to Bishop Cobham, who died in 1337; to Bishop de Bransford, who died in 1349; and to Bishop Brian, who died in 1361. Bishop Hemenhall, who died in 1338; Bishop Lynn, who died in 1373; and Bishop Wakefield, were the only other bishops of the fourteenth century buried in the Cathedral; and it is possible that the three monumental effigies last noticed may not have been correctly ascribed in the foregoing observations. There are also effigies of two heads of conventual establishments; the first, removed from the upper south transept, or Dean's Chapel, is under an arch in the south aisle of the nave." Mr. Bloxam considers this to be one of the priors of Worcester, who is represented as vested for the eucharistic office. The feet rest against a lion; and it is of a period late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century. "The other effigy is said with some probability to be that of the last Abbot of Evesham, Philip Hanford, *alias* Ballard, who was collated Dean of Worcester in 1553, and died in 1557. His effigy and tomb are at the back of the east screen of the choir, and it has been removed thither within the last century.'

"The most ancient of the effigies in armour is that lying in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel; not, however, in its original position. It has been supposed to represent Sir James de Beauchamp. From

the absence of any plate-armour, from the length of the shield (3 feet), and from the long surcoat, the effigy may be assigned to the reign of Henry III, and to about the middle of the thirteenth century. This effigy, like many others, is of large stature, being 6 ft. 3 ins. in length. It is placed on a tomb somewhat raised, apparently a stone coffin. This was formerly in the north aisle of choir. There are several effigies of ladies; the earliest is in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel, of the thirteenth century. This effigy perhaps formed the lid of a coffin. The slab does not appear to be coffin-shaped. The sides are parallel, a form unusual anterior to the fifteenth century. In the south aisle of the Lady Chapel is an effigy of a lady designed with exquisite taste. This is of the fourteenth century. The head, which reposes on a single square cushion, is covered with a veil flowing gracefully on each side to the shoulders. The feet rest against a dog. This effigy is sculptured, in high relief, out of a slab somewhat coffin-shaped, and is one of the most beautiful mediæval monuments in the Cathedral. Near to this lies the much mutilated effigy of a lady, also of the fourteenth century, found recently at the foot of the steps of the transept, near Prior Arthur's Chapel. But the most remarkable of the sepulchral effigies of ladies is that on the south side of the said chapel, enclosed within the screen, and lying on a tomb with sculptures on each side, with quatre-foiled compartments; of date, either late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century. The bearing on the escutcheons upon the mantle proves, on accurate examination, to be chequy *or* and *azure*, with a fess, upon which no colour is now to be seen, but supposed to have been *gules*; the coat of Clifford. Upon the bearing on the robe no trace is to be found. Mr. Planché suggested at the Meeting at Worcester in 1848,¹ that this graceful effigy may be the memorial of Matilda, daughter and heir of Walter de Clifford. She married first William Longespée; and secondly, Lord Giffard of Brunsfield, a kinsman of Bishop Giffard. The interment of a "*Domina de Clifford, dicta Comitissa*," is entered in the *Annals of Worcester* under the year 1301; but she had died before 1283." Other conjectures as to the identity of this figure are given by Mr. Bloxam, with the references to authorities.

On the north side of the nave, between two of the piers, is a high tomb, on which are the effigies of a knight and his lady. "This is supposed to be that of John de Beauchamp, son of Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, and is probably of the early part of the fifteenth century."² The lady is represented as attired in an ornamental net-work head-dress, with a kerchief flowing down behind. Her dress consists of a corset close-fitting to the waist, and open at the sides, with a row of

¹ *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 5.

² Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*.

square ornaments of goldsmith's work in front, and flowing skirts. On each hip there is an ornament of the same fashion affixed lozengewise. The tight-fitting sleeves are buttoned with closely set, diminutive buttons down to the wrists. The mantle is attached by a cord in front of the breast, fastened on each side to a lozenge-shaped fermal. The head reposes on a swan, and the feet rest against a dog. The tomb and brass of Bishop de Winchcombe, who died in 1401, no longer exist. The monument, a high tomb, of Thomas Littleton of Frankley, the celebrated judge and commentator, who died in 1481, is still to be seen against the south wall of the south aisle of the nave; but this was despoiled in the civil wars of the brass effigy described by Habyngdon in his *Survey*. The tomb in south transept, of Sir Grifflith Ryce, who died in 1523, exhibits architectural features on the sides and ends; but this also has been bereaved of his portraiture in brass as well as that of his lady. This and the altar-tomb of Prince Arthur, without any effigy, but the sides covered with architectural details, may be considered among the latest examples anterior to the introduction of the semi-classic school of art. The Prince died at Ludlow in 1502." The President pointed out to us the many heraldic emblems and charges, as the rose, pomegranate, ostrich-plume, fleur-de-lys, fetterlock, portcullis, etc., which adorn the south side of the tomb.

In the coloured glass windows of the Abbey Church of Great Malvern are or were interesting portraits of the Tudor family, Henry VII and Elizabeth his Queen; the Princes Arthur and Henry, their sons; Sir Reginald Bray, K.G., the architect of the King, to whom we are indebted for many of Henry VII's Tudor-Gothic buildings; also of Sir John Savage and Thomas Lovell, all Henry's privy counsellors. Prince Henry's and Sir R. Bray's alone remain perfect, according to Dr. Card, rector of this church in 1815, who did much to restore the building at a time when such restorations were both difficult of execution, and not very popular. We have thus had many memorials of the youthful Prince Arthur, the hope of this nation, and heir to the houses both of York and Lancaster, during our progress. His education and residence at Tickenhill, a palace built for him, near Bewdley; his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, whose very marriage-chest, bearing the initial letters, K. R., of her name, was shewn at Little Malvern; then his portrait in the church of Great Malvern, with other members of the family; and lastly, his tomb in Worcester Cathedral.

At Little Malvern, the magnificent window, with remains of stained glass, has portraits of historical personages of the time of Edward IV, which have been described by the late Mr. A. Way and Mr. Gough Nichols. Other fragments of windows seen during our progress through churches and other mediæval buildings were very interesting for their coats of arms of the great Worcestershire families, not to

speak of the treatment in others of Scriptural subjects, a study apart, and which shows the manner adopted to inculcate among an illiterate population the stories and doctrines of their faith.

Mr. J. Nott gave an account of the windows of Great Malvern Church. As regards the arms and quarterings of mediæval families, notice should be taken of the numerous encaustic tiles on which they were depicted, both in the Abbey Church at Great Malvern, and at Huddington and elsewhere.

WATER-GIRT DWELLINGS.—We have had some insight into the supposed dwellings of the ancient inhabitants of the county on the fortified eminences, where they could be secure with their flocks and herds. Fortified dwellings of another class on the low lands seem to have been placed on raised plots flowed round with water. Such a spot is that upon which Temple Court, a modern house, is built near Bosbury. Remains of the moat can be traced, and the site on which a preceptory of the Knights Templars is reported to have stood, is similar to the tumps which have been noticed by Mr. C. Roach Smith and others, in different parts of the country, as having been used for fortified dwellings. Branshill Castle and Eastnor Castle, at the western foot of Midsummer Hill, are placed upon natural elevations but little raised above the water which flows around. Of the former, the shell only of an old tower is seen, but the site and remains of the old lines are interesting, and the moat and old trees which, like its banks, are very picturesque. For the history and possessors of this castle, which was burnt during the civil wars, I must refer to the account given us on the spot by Mr. G. H. Piper, F.G.S., of Malvern. The site of Eastnor Castle presents no traces of ancient masonry; the castle, the seat of Earl Somers, being wholly modern. The vast lake would form a strong line of defence on one side, and it is impossible to say what changes may not have taken place in the flow of the water since the time of the Ancient Britons.

To the south-west of Malvern is Birts-Morton Court, now a farmhouse, dating back to Sir John Ninfan of Henry VI's household.

TIMBERED AND HALF-TIMBERED BUILDINGS.—Those in Worcestershire are a special feature of the country and a study in themselves. Some of them dating, in part, to the fourteenth century. I must refer to such works as *Old Worcestershire Houses*, by W. Niven, 1873; and *Ancient Half-Timbered Houses* by M. Habershon and John Weale, 1836, for a particular account of them, for I can do little more than name those we visited.

A tithe barn at Bredon, of the date of about 1450, which resembles in style, though hardly equals in size, the tithe barn at Abury, Wilts, in which we took luncheon at the Congress last year. These barns would form a good subject for further research, as they seem, from

their importance, to have been used, not only to store the tithes, but also the produce of the glebe and demesne lands of the church and monasteries.

Remains of the Bishop of Hereford's Palace at Bosbury, and the fourteenth century gate-house at the same place, described in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*. The Crown Inn there contains a room once belonging to the Hereford family, which contains some good oak panelling and cornice.

At Ledbury, the market-house, supported by a number of upright timbers, is a good specimen of such buildings, and the timber seems perfectly sound and in its place.

Hellen's House, occupied by Mr. R. D. Cooke, is a fine type of domestic architecture in the middle ages. The successive alterations made in it were pointed out by Mr. Brock.

The Raven Hotel at Droitwich, in which we dined, has much old timber in it, some of which is referred to the fourteenth century.

I will conclude this catalogue with the names of three celebrated buildings of their class. Huddington House, surrounded by a moat and near the old church, which sadly stands in need of repair. Meer-Green Hall, Hanbury (seventeenth century), where we were received by the resident squire, — Beercroft, Esq., whose family has been established there since the time of Edward III. Pickersleigh, a fine timbered house, within about a mile of the Imperial Hotel, Malvern, well worth a visit.

The excursion on Thursday along the valley of the Severn, in a south-easterly direction, brought some interesting spots to our sight, and called up memories of still deeper interest. After Birt's Morton, with the history of the spot from the days of the Domesday Survey, when surrounded by the woods of the Malvern Chase, the house called Payne's Place was visited; an old building of the middle of the fifteenth century, to which it is said Margaret of Anjou fled when the cause of her son had become hopeless, though the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram seemed to think the evidence of this fact insufficient. The house of Severn, and with the antiquarian treasures contained in it, were thrown open to us by the kindness of Sir Edmund Lechmere, M.P., whose family is one of the most ancient in the county, and not far from it stand the ruins of Hanley Castle, once belonging to the Lechmeres, and memorable as the residence of the Nevilles, Dukes of Warwick, and the Despencers.

EXCURSION TO KIDDERMINSTER, on Friday, 26th August.—This was a day set apart for traversing the county in an opposite direction, that is, towards Kidderminster, the great manufacturing town, represented in Parliament by our Associate, Mr. J. Brinton, M.P., who kindly offered to be our guide to the archaeology of this neighbourhood, and

who had been the prime mover in fixing Malvern as the headquarters of the Congress this year. He met us at the Council Chamber in the New Guildhall, where we were cordially welcomed by the Mayor (Alderman Willis), and the early history of the town was pointed out, and references made to a number of charters and other documents laid on the table, some of which had only recently been discovered by searching for what had never been missed till the proposed visit of the Association aroused a spirit of antiquarian research. Several members of the Corporation, following up this laudable spirit of inquiry, favoured us with their company during the day's excursions, and pointed out and discussed many objects of interest. The Town Clerk of Wenlock (Mr. H. Dixon) mentioned that at Wenlock, in 1687, it was resolved to have a carpet of Kidderminster stuff for the Council Chamber, showing the early repute of this town for carpet manufacture. Mr. Compton commented on a will, dated 1654, proved in the Court of the Lord Protector. But this is all modern as compared to the facts quoted by Nash, *Worcestershire*, vol. ii, that Ethelbald, King of the South Angles, gave to Earl Kynebert, ten cassates of land in the province of the Usmers, upon both sides of the river Stur. Charles Lyttelton, in a letter quoted, says, "the river Stour passes through Kidderminster town and parish, and is bounded on the north-east by a rivulet called, at present, Broadwater, which divides Kidderminster from Wolverley, and which I have great reason to think was anciently named Usmere, for the name is still retained in a pool on the common not far from Broadwater, called Ismere. In a register of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the boundaries of Culleclyffe are described as follows: "Limites de Culleclyffe in Wolverley, anno 1066. In primis de flumine que vocatur Usmere, ad montem Heseacan, etc."; and concludes with the words, "per illam viam usque iterum ad ripam que vocatur Usmere".

The manor was in the crown till Henry II, who gave it to Manser de Biset, Dapifer. From an heiress it came to Sir Wm. Beauchamp, a younger son of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and father of Sir Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, from whose daughter and heir, Elizabeth, wife of Edward Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, the Barons of Abergavenny became proprietors of a moiety of the manor of Kidderminster. The moiety of the Blounts came to Waller the poet by purchase. The poet, having been fined £10,000 to the Parliament, sold it to Dan. Dobbins of London in 1635. That part of the manor which belonged to Lord Abergavenny was purchased by Mr. Foley, afterwards Lord Foley. Sir John Beauchamp of Holt was the only Baron of Kidderminster before the Foleys, and said to be the first created by letters patent, dated 10th October 1387.

After Mr. Brinton had given the history of the town, the church

of St. Mary was visited. Something has already been said about its early monuments; but one of Jacobean date, which in the restoration of the church seems to have been removed from its place into the south-west corner of the nave, shall be referred to hereafter among the monuments of post-reformation dates. After viewing relics of Richard Baxter and his statue in marble, lately erected in the town, and another marble statue, by the same artist, of Sir Rowland Hill, we proceeded under the guidance of Mr. Brinton to Warhill Camp in the Forest of Wyre, a fortified eminence overlooking the beautiful valleys of the Severn, Teme, and Stour; and the commanding earthworks of some ancient people, whether Romans or others, were pointed out. We then came to the churches of Areley-Kings and Ribbesford; the latter containing portions of work of early date, and the ancient portal, with carved tympanum, above referred to.

At Areley-Kings, a church not restored and with flat plaster ceilings and high pews, antiquarian discussions were relieved by the amusing anecdotes and classic quotations of the Rev J. P. H. Hastings, who commented on a quaint epitaph in the church (1702), and on the following inscription in the churchyard, incised in large Roman characters on a stone wall: LITHOLOGEMA QVARE REPOSITVE SIR HARRY.

Highly interesting was the drive through Bewdley and along the banks of the Severn to the red stone rocks, which have been excavated and inhabited—some say from very early times—as a hermitage, monastery, and barracks. Not far off is Winterdyne, once the seat of, and built by, Sir Edward Winnington, Bart., after he had resigned to his son the house at Stanford Court, the ancient residence of the family, which rose to eminence by the merit of Sir Francis Winnington, Solicitor-General in the reign of William III (1698). We had seen a portrait of Thomas Winnington, one of the family, in the Guildhall at Worcester.

The hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Brinton was shown at Moor Hall, their residence near Stourport, whither they had invited our large party to a luncheon, which was served in a wainscotted chamber usually devoted to athletic exercises; and we afterwards had the opportunity of viewing at our leisure the collection of paintings with which the walls of the house are adorned, and of strolling through the picturesque grounds laid out with all the taste for which English landscape gardening has long been celebrated.

In the evening of Saturday we were again and for the last time assembled in the school-room of Malvern College, which had been placed at our disposal throughout the week by the kindness of the authorities, and where we first met to receive the welcome to Malvern by Lieut.-General Sir J. Hawkins, R.E., in the name of the inhabitants. It was here the President delivered his address on the

22nd, and alluded in friendly terms to the fact of his having presided over the sister Society at Northampton a few years since. This was the more agreeable to the meeting in that it shewed—if need were of such an assurance—that every spark of hostile feeling which thirty years ago was discernible in some of the members of both Societies, when the severance took place, had completely died out, and the interchange of good offices was now certainly redounding to the advantage of the science in which the two Associations were engaged. We had arrived at the official term of the Congress, and were presided over on the last occasion by the Rev. Gregory Smith, Vicar of Great Malvern, who had frequently taken the chair at our evening meetings, where many papers were read upon subjects connected with the neighbourhood, and discussions had upon them, affording material for our *Journal*, and for future amplification. As Treasurer of the Association I may, perhaps, be allowed to put in a word in favour of private contributions towards the expense of illustrations for our *Journal*, because the sum devoted to this purpose has been restricted by the Council in consequence of want of funds, and we must, therefore, look to individual members to aid us a little if the efficiency of the *Journal* is to be maintained. Our late President, Earl Nelson, and one of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Geo. Godwin, F.R.S., sent contributions in money to Devizes, with the object of encouraging similar donations, and their examples have since been followed by Messrs. W. A. Cope, Wood, Mould, Merriman, Grain, and others.

The closing day had been one of interest, beginning with the walk over the Herefordshire Beacon and Midsummer Hill, before referred to, and where we had the advantage of the local knowledge of the country, of Mr. H. Lees, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Wilson, and others, who, from the various standpoints, shewed us the lines, and the roads, and the forts, and the distant towers of Worcester on the north, Gloucester on the south, and Tewkesbury towards the east. The remains of Little Malvern Priory, once a Benedictine cell of Worcester, were visited, now occupied by Mr. C. M. Berington, who pointed out the kitchen built by Bishop Alcock, and some MSS. of great interest, as an original charter of 1239; a private letter of Clement Lichfield, Abbot of Evesham, who built the town there; and the grant of the Monastery by K. Philip and Q. Mary to John Russell, a younger branch of the Russells of Strensham. Besides records of the peaceful scenes referred to in the preceding pages, we were not without descriptions of the spot where civil wars raged and filled with blood and horrors the plains of Tewkesbury and Worcester. The Rev. W. S. Symonds, M.A., gave an account of the battle of Tewkesbury, as we were prevented by stress of weather from visiting the field.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXCURSIONS.—The three extra days commanded

quite as much attention as any of the previous week, and the first was devoted to Worcester, which may be called the President's day.

The Town Hall,¹ where we were received and welcomed by the Mayor (Alderman Townshend) and the Town Council, called up memories of the visit of the British Archaeological Association to Worcester in 1848, though few among our Associates and among the Town Council can say they were personally present on that occasion. Some will remember Mr. W. H. Black's comments on the charters and MSS. of the corporation. On this occasion, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., gave, not only an account of the charters before us, but of the capitular charters of Worcester Monastery, which once existed, some of which have been scattered and some lost, but only one of which now remains in the custody of the Dean and Chapter.

The Dean, our President, received us at the door of the Cathedral, and gave a complete account of the architecture of the building and its permutations through successive ages. The crypt was visited, and the arrangement of its massive masonry described for supporting the heavy piers above.

It may not be out of place here to refer to some of the post-reformation tombs and monuments seen during this Congress, some of which are of great merit and beauty, as that of the Blounts at Kidderminster—Sir T. Blount, 1569, and his wife (a Cooksey), 1595. In Worcester Cathedral those recorded by Mr. Bloxam are—Bishop Bullingham, 1576; Bishop Parrie, 1616; Bishop Thornborough, 1641; Bishop Gauden (mural tablet), 1662; Bishop Fleetwood, 1683; Bishop Thomas, 1689; Bishop Shillingford, 1699; Bishop Hough (by Roubilliac), 1743; a Dean, R. Eades, 1604. Tombs in Great Malvern Church to John Knolsford (died 1589) and his wife Jane and their children; their eldest daughter Anne kneels to a book on a pillar. A fine tomb and monument to Giles Read (1611) in Bredon Church.

Having surveyed the picturesque ruin of the old guesten-house, destroyed not long since (see *Building News*, 26th August), we adjourned to the Deanery, where the hospitality of the Dean and of Lady Compton was liberally offered to the whole of our large party in the vaulted hall in the basement, once the refectory of the bishops who formerly occupied this building. In the vestibule, after admiring some hangings of ancient tapestry, we saw the chapel, and then viewed a large collection of drawings by H. H. Lines of Worcester, representing its buildings, many of which have been since destroyed or altered; among these, the old guesten-hall in 1854, and St. Peter's Church.

The Commandery was then visited, a timbered building, interesting

¹ For elevation and ground-plan, see *Building News* of August 26.

on many accounts; and the roof of the hall (now divided into two parts by a carriage-way passing through it), failed not to call forth many observations from Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Lees, Mr. Burgess, and others. It was to this house the wounded Duke of Hamilton was carried after the battle of Worcester, and in which he died, and was buried in the Cathedral.

The town is full of interesting old half-timbered houses, and among them one was shewn us near the Corn-Market, in which Charles II is said to have slept before the battle of Worcester, and to have fled thither after his defeat; from whence, by a back way, he made his escape through St. Martin's Gate of the city. An inscription cut in the timber of the house is as follows:

LOVE GOD
W B 1577 R D
HONOR Y^E KINGE

The initials have been said to be those of Wm. Berkeley and R. Durant. A small portion of the old city wall was shewn near this house. The six gates of Worcester are named by Leland.

The Royal Pottery Works and its Museum were carefully explained to us by Mr. Binns, F.S.A., from the earliest time, through the English blue and white porcelain, between 1751 and 1783, to the costly modern cup and saucer. A mug commemorative of the elections, dated 1807, caught our attention, inscribed with the words, "Memorable triumph of Liberty. W. Gordon, 17 Februy. 1807. Glorious majority of 352."

TUESDAY EXCURSION.—Cragbury or Cruckborough Hill, as before described, was this day visited; and from thence, after viewing Speechley Church, the way led to Huddington Church, which has not been restored, apparently, since the fourteenth century.

Close to Huddington Church was the Hall, one of the old timbered houses of Worcestershire. Mr. Reynolds pointed out, from the timbers and mouldings, that it was somewhat older than that at Birt's Morton; and afterwards to Meer Green Hall, Hanbury, where Mr. Bearcroft, the proprietor, welcomed us with old English hospitality, shewing us over this curious house, of the date of about the end of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the figures 1337 carved upon one of the timbers. The discrepancy was explained by Mr. Brock. The pedigree of the Bearcrofts was shewn to us, commencing from the reign of Edward III.

After seeing the pictures and a fine collection of old china, and taking our leave of the worthy squire, we proceeded to Droitwich, a town having somewhat a ruinous appearance through the smoke of factories, but with two interesting churches, St. Andrew's and Dodderhill; the latter on a high cliff. From this elevation we looked down upon a field below, where the Roman mosaic pavement was found, now in the

Museum at Worcester. Our return journey was by way of Salwarpe.

CHELTHENHAM DAY.—The last of the extra excursions was to Cheltenham and neighbourhood. On arrival at the Station we proceeded on foot to Thirlestane House, formerly the residence of Lord Northwick, and afterwards of the late Sir T. Phillipps, from whom it passed to the Rev. J. E. A. and Mrs. Fenwick, by whose kind invitation we were to see the picture-galleries and the famous collection of MSS. of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. Mr. and Mrs. Fenwick received us in the hall of the mansion, and we were met by our President, the Dean of Worcester, and by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who came down to deliver an address upon palæography in general, exemplified by some of the most remarkable in each class, selected out of this large collection of some 30,000 MSS., all brought together by Sir Thomas Phillipps. The description of the different classes of illuminated MSS., and of the various and progressive styles of writing, abbreviating, and punctuating, was given with much clearness by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, and in a way to excite a lively interest in such documents among those hitherto unacquainted with them; and those who have a knowledge of the science of palæography will appreciate this lecture from one who in connection with the Palæographical Society has done much to throw light upon and simplify the study of written records. The long room at Thirlestane House contained a varied collection of paintings by ancient and modern masters, and a second room was adorned with a frieze on which was reproduced the Panathenian procession of the Elgin Marbles. The paintings in this room were of modern artists, chiefly of Welsh and Gloucester scenery by Glover.

The old church at Cheltenham was viewed only from the outside, with its beautiful rose-window, which is figured in *Review*. The party here began to disperse, though some still went to visit three more churches in the neighbourhood, those of Leckhampton, Prestbury, and Bishop's Cleeve; thus terminating a Congress which had not been exceeded in interest by any of its predecessors, and which has added many new Associates to our roll of members. To the financial care and influence of Mr. Charles James Bate, the Local Treasurer, and to the untiring energies of Mr. Edward Nevins and Mr. John Reynolds, the Association is greatly beholden for the success which crowned their labours; and without reference to any particular members and officers of the Association who contributed to this result, I may express the satisfaction of all at seeing our Congress Secretary, Mr. George Wright, in his former health and spirits, and straining every nerve to keep up the enthusiasm of the Meeting.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archaeological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Egypt of the Past. By ERASMUS WILSON, F.R.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1881.—Since the republication of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, in three volumes, under the editorship of Dr. Birch, no book upon the mystic land of Egypt has acquired interest, or satisfied the expectation of students in so great a degree, as *The Egypt of the Past* by Sir Erasmus Wilson. To the favourable notices of this book that have, without exception, issued from the press, we may gladly add our own testimony. Conceived in a comprehensive spirit, and treated liberally, but not discursively, and above all, perfectly free from the padding with which so many so called histories of ancient nations are disfigured, we have here a work perfectly original from beginning to end, presenting to the reader a synoptical view of the ancient kingdom of Egypt, its temples and palaces, its language and literature, its manners and customs, its races and dynasties, its arts and sciences, its megaliths and monuments, and this in a way which unobtrusively and unpretentiously recommends itself far more forcibly than volumes of greater size and unsatisfactory scope are able to do. The whole *ensemble* of this book is excellent, its woodcuts and coloured plates being second to none in point of artistic merit.

The chronological sequence of dynasties gives the key-note to the arrangement,—a principle not carried out in Sir G. Wilkinson's work; nor, indeed, in any other. The actual date of the earlier Egyptian dynasties, in solar years, is a matter of considerable perplexity to all Egyptologists, and it will be long before the conflicting data can be reconciled. Even the most advanced chronologists, such as Wilkinson, Mariette, Brugsch, and Lenormant, differ in their results, in some cases, by more than a thousand years; and some of the most illustrious scholars have abandoned the consideration of early Egyptian dates in favour of the relics, the language, and the mythology of the land. Sir E. Wilson wisely does not lay down any new dogmas regarding the actual period of the dynasties. He is content to describe the historical events as illustrated by the monuments and ever diminishing anti-

quities which they lean upon, and to examine theories by the light which a more exact technical knowledge has of late been able to throw upon what has hitherto been dark and mysterious. "The great river of Egypt, the Nile", says Sir Erasmus in his preface, "which first brought down the soil of Central Africa, and in course of time filled up that arm of the sea which as dry land we now call Egypt, and which by continuous accumulation drove the sea back into the Mediterranean basin, while it has ever been the creative and fertilising power of Egypt, has likewise been the insatiable devourer of its history. The cities of the Delta, their monuments and their records, have, for the most part, been swallowed up and destroyed. How much knowledge may have been lost to modern times by the annual inundation of the Nile, it is now too late to calculate. Those temples founded on the rock and on the higher ground have alone survived; and, above all, the tombs excavated and built in the limestone range, beyond the reach of the inundation; and on those broad mountain ledges which would seem to have been the complement, if not indeed the cause, of the Pyramids."

Egypt has contributed not unfrequently objects of interest to our evening exhibitions of antiquities. She has contributed, by the judicious generosity of the author of this work, a monolith of exceeding interest to the ornamentation of our city; and she now contributes, through the same medium, to English literature an enlightened work which reflects lustre upon him who has constructed so charming a narrative upon the data which she has furnished for the unravelling of her past.

Of the "Cleopatra's Needle", which Dr. Birch illustrated and explained in this *Journal* at the time of its arrival, Sir E. Wilson says "he is willing to regard it as an enduring illustration of the greatness and magnificence of the *Egypt of the past*. Accident threw in his way the opportunity of securing for his country this most interesting relic, and he would have deemed himself culpable had he failed to embrace it. That the monument is appreciated by his fellow citizens is shewn by the costly decorations which the Metropolitan Board of Works are about to contribute to its adornment, although to the eye of the author it will never be more beautiful than in its present rugged simplicity."

A Roman Villa at Wingham, Kent.—The discovery of what is likely to prove to be a Roman villa of considerable importance and extent, at Wingham, Kent, having been brought before the Council of the British Archæological Association, reference was made to the subject at the meeting, November 16th (see p. 427 *ante*). It is very probable that antiquarian discoveries of consequence may reward the investigators, and the continuance of the excavations is therefore very desirable.

Subscriptions are greatly needed for the work, and will be gladly received by Thomas Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.E.; by G. Dowker, Esq., Stourmouth House, Wingham, Kent; or by the Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson, Sittingbourne, Kent. The following report, prepared by Mr. G. Dowker, who has charge of the excavations, sets forth the progress of the explorations:

"In July last I made a discovery of considerable interest in a field at Wingham Court, known as 'The Vineyard'. It is recorded by Hasted that in 1710 a sarcophagus was found in this field (probably Roman). Roman coins and pottery have likewise been found in the same field. Marks or traces of foundations are discernible in dry seasons in the corn. These facts, together with its situation near the Roman Road, led me to seek for Roman foundations, and I was successful. In probing 'The Vineyard' field I came on foundations which proved to be those of a Roman bath, the walls of which were constructed of Roman tiles; the inside lined with concrete of pounded tile, and tessellated,—the lower half with dark tesserae, the upper with white; the tesserae being small, and neatly jointed, proving good workmanship. This bath measured 8 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 6 inches. The floors had likewise been tessellated; but the tesserae had been broken up, except only narrow slips on either side next the walls. In the south-west corner was a drain leading through the wall.

"This bath led up by steps (part of which only remain) into another apartment, No. 2, which had a tessellated floor of the same material, in white and dark squares and diamonds, with a border in black and white. The space between the bath and this room had formed a seat, which had been paved with white marble tesserae, a small portion of which only remained near the eastern side.

"No. 2 room had walls with a cornice at the bottom, covered with a red cement or concrete with a polished surface. A drain was found in the south-west corner, similar to that in the bath. Resting on the tessellated floor in this room was found a millstone, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about five inches thick, having a hole in centre, and cut and scored exactly like a modern millstone.

"North of this room, and at a higher level, another room, No. 3, was met with, about 12 feet square, with a tessellated floor of a fret labyrinth pattern, with border in black and white.

"Westward of No. 2 room a doorway paved with tesserae led into a hypocaust-room, 11 feet wide, and as far as at present excavated, 27 feet long, in a westerly direction, at right angles with No. 3 room. The hypocaust, in its eastern half, had a floor placed on tiles laid over blocks of masonry of considerable width, with spaces, flues, between them. The latter were filled with charcoal and soot. The blocks of masonry were pierced by flue-tiles. The western half was differently constructed, being placed on tiles in parallel rows.

"The east side of bath, and rooms Nos. 2 and 3, as well as north of room No. 3, were outside walls as far as could be ascertained by excavating beyond them. South of the bath the walls may be traced into the field beyond, and there are traces of foundations to the south and west of the hypocaust. Present appearances seem to point to this as a villa of considerable dimensions, the rooms excavated being those connected with the bath. No trace of the atrium or large rooms, but they may yet be found. There are evidences that it had been used at a later period than the Roman occupation; some fire flues being stopped up, and the pottery and coins, the latter, denarii, and a Roman coin of Antoninus Pius pierced with a pinhole, so as to be used as ornaments for suspension.

"The situation of the villa is at the south-west slope of a mill having a beautifully clear stream, fed by numerous streams, which rise a very short distance off, known as 'Wingham Well', noted for its water-cresses. The road from Sandwich and Canterbury crosses this stream by a bridge just below the villa. At less than half a mile north in the next parish of Iekham, is another Roman villa, which has been very imperfectly explored. I found a Roman burial place and potters' kiln a short distance north-east, some years back, a notice of which appeared in the twelfth volume of the *Kent Archaeological Society's Proceedings*. Eastward of the vineyard field a road runs from Wingham and Staple and Sandwich, crossing another branch stream of the Stour at a place called Dambridge, near which a Saxon burial-ground was opened by Lord Londesborough and Mr. Ackerman. Altogether, the surroundings of Wingham are very suggestive of a place of much importance in ancient times. The soil is fertile, and the name of Wingham may have been derived from the vineyard, probably dating back to the Roman period of the occupation of Britain.

"Earl Cowper the landlord, and Mr. John Robinson the tenant, have offered every facility, and the ground is enclosed with a tall pole fence; at present, excavating is postponed till the spring, and the floors are covered up from the frost."

Salamina (Cyprus): its History, Treasures, and Antiquities. By ALEXANDER PALMA DI CESNOLA.—This work, which will be printed in royal 8vo., with upwards of 700 illustrations (comprising 300 woodcuts), and extend to upwards of 300 pages, will contain an account of the principal objects of antiquity derived from ancient sites which were excavated by A. P. di Cesnola from 1876 to 1879 in the Island of Cyprus, a labour in which he was aided by Mr. Edwin H. Lawrence, F.S.A., who provided all the funds for the purpose. The antiquities now form the Lawrence-Cesnola Collection, and are entirely distinct from the New York Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, obtained by General L. P. di Cesnola.

The Collection, which was acquired with considerable difficulty and at much expense, amounts to upwards of 14,000 specimens, and has been pronounced by the best authorities to be of considerable archaeological interest. It contains Phœnician, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman remains, from Kitium, Paphos, Marium, Kourium, Idalium or Dali, Soli, and, above all, from Salamina, the ancient Salamis of Teucer, which yielded a large proportion of the recovered treasures—a site which no excavator has ever before examined with success.

The relics comprise a vast variety of valuable objects in gold, silver, and bronze; gems, cylinders, precious stones, ivory, and terra-cottas. Among them may be mentioned finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces, leaves of beaten gold-foil for head-attires or to cover the features of the dead; masks, swords, knives, and other weapons; coins, pins, *alabastra*, toys, urns of large size adorned with geometrical patterns, other urns of sepulchral use, finely modelled statuary groups and statuettes, portable hand-warmers, and numerous inscriptions, of the highest value to the archaeologist and historian.

The author will be assisted in the elucidation of the various objects of the Collection by—Samuel Birch, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D., D.C.L., etc., Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, President of the Society of Biblical Archaeology; Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford; M. D. Pierides, of Cyprus, Imperial Ottoman Bank, Larnaka, etc.; Chev. Clermont-Ganneau, Directeur Adjoint à l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes, French Consul at Jaffa, etc.; Hyde Clarke, Esq., K.C.M., LL.D., F.S.A.; and Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

The work will be found of especial interest to archaeologists, numismatists, and students of ancient art and history, as it will contain descriptions of many new types. The favour with which the announcement of this work has thus far been received leads the author to hope that it will prove acceptable to all who are interested in the History and Antiquities of Cyprus. The price to subscribers will be one guinea. The price on publication will be £1 11s. 6d.

The Book of Oddities, by WILLIAM ANDREWS, F.R.H.S., of the Literary Club, Hull, is in the press, and will be issued at an early date. The work will be uniform with his *Punishments in the Olden Time*, and will contain chapters furnishing much curious and interesting information on the following subjects: "Revivals after Execution—A Human Pineushion—Female Jockeys—A Blind Road-Maker—Odd Showers—Singular Funerals—Whimsical Wills—Curious Customs—Quaint Epitaphs—Remarkable Characters—Dog-Whippers and Sluggard-Wakers—Playing at Cards for a Town—People and Steeple Rhymes—The Caistor Gad-Whip Memorial Service", etc., etc. An index will be prepared by J. Potter Briscoe, F.R.H.S., editor of *Old Nottinghamshire*.

The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.—By GEORGE DENNIS. Two vols. Revised Edition, recording the most Recent Discoveries. (London: Murray.) The removal of most of the Departments of Natural History from the British Museum to the new building at South Kensington, has enabled the valuable and representative antiquities derived from Etruscan sites to be transferred from the somewhat congenial glimmer of subterranean places to a large and well-lighted room on the upper floor at the north-west corner of the Museum. Here we may see at a good advantage the stone and alabaster sarcophagi and eists, the terra-cotta pottery and sepulchral figures, the hut-shaped *tuguria*, the disputed sarcophagus, the inscriptions and classic bas-reliefs which make up that wonderful collection. The stimulus which will not unnaturally accrue to the archaeological mind during the contemplation of those venerable relics cannot be better gratified than by a careful and thorough perusal of Mr. Dennis's new edition of *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. Visiting site after site, the author has reproduced accurate plans and views of each locality in turn, and faithfully recorded the points which impressed themselves upon him. The light of classic texts and the statements of ancient writers are naturally of the highest value in such a mission of exploration, and Mr. Dennis has not omitted to use them. The woodcuts throughout the work are, indeed, of the well-known excellence to which Mr. Murray's publications always attain, and the book itself is written in a charming, easy, facile style, which at once dispels all fear of the dryness of the subject. Of the necessity of examining and taking accurate note of Etruscan sites we have ample evidence. Even in the sparsely inhabited tracts of country in Etruria the work of destruction and desolation is progressing rapidly. The author, indeed, says of Veii, one of the most extensive cities of the land, "Every time I visit Veii I am struck with the rapid progress of destruction. Nibby and Gell mention many remains which are no longer visible. The site has less to shew on every succeeding year. Even masonry, such as the pier of the bridge over the Fosso di Formello that, from its massiveness, might seem to defy the pilferings of the peasantry, is torn to pieces, and the blocks removed to form walls of houses elsewhere, so that, ere long, it may be said of Veii, 'Her very ruins have perished'—*etiam periêre ruine*." The sepulchres, with the varied scenes depicted on their walls, and their sarcophagi; the sculptures and carvings; the museums and collections, to the formation of which Etruscan antiquities have so unsparingly contributed their best examples; the epigraphy and paleography of the language; the mutual influences which other artistic nations have received from and imparted to Etrurian arts, are discussed at length: the manners and customs are elucidated, and help is given towards

the unfolding of the still mysterious and unknown language which was spoken by those whose art reached a point of native excellence, as beautiful, elegant, and characteristic in its way as that of any other European peoples. There is no space here at command to enter into a detailed criticism of the work. The first edition, published many years ago, was received by the world of archaeology with approbation and favour; the present edition, with its revised texts and its latest information, is an advance upon the old one, and we do not require the vaticinations of an Etruscan soothsayer to predict for this present form of the work a literary success even greater than that which attended the first issue of what is deservedly a standard book of reference on the shelves of every antiquary's study, a text-book in European Museums, and, from its purity and carefully constructed diction, worthy a place in any library, however select and refined.

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